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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DEVELOPMENT, AID AND EDUCATION: THE CASE OF SELECTED AREAS OF LATIN AMERICA

BY

JACQUES PIERRE EMILE HURABIELLE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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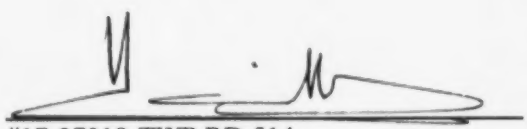

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Development, Aid, and Education: The Case of Selected Areas of Latin America" submitted by Jacques Pierre Emile Hurabielle in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Adult and Higher Education.

Professor A.K. Deane, Supervisor

Dr. D. J. Engel

Dr. S.H. Toh

April 3, 1995

ABSTRACT

This study examines the problem of underdevelopment in Latin America, strategies used to offset it, and the outcome of aid. It compares the arguments of modernization to those of dependency. The research investigates the following seven questions. What is development, according to the modernization paradigm? Where does the need for modern development come from? Why is modern development perceived by some to be a pressing priority? What kind(s) of education do agencies support? How are developmental efforts presented by those sponsoring them? How are the same efforts presented by critical scholars? And, do the two views differ, and if so, why and on what points?

It was found that, for traditionalists, to modernize is to develop as advanced industrialized nations once did. For them, underdevelopment is attributable to local deficiencies which can be overcome by aid. Due to Latin America's weak position in global competition, traditionalists perceive modernization to be a priority. To facilitate changes, however, local education has to be overhauled, for it currently has many shortcomings; practical education is deemed to be best for preparing nations for inclusion in an industrialized world.

For critical developmentalists, measures recommended by traditionalists are perceived to be inappropriate. Such measures are the response of dominant groups to the demands of the masses; they accentuate dependency on the North, and they further entrap the region in world capitalism. Although the two perspectives differ substantially in most aspects of their approach to development, these differences are intimately related to dissimilar paradigms, and, on final analysis, the two perspectives hold promising elements.

The study closes with practical recommendations. These include the need to restore the spirit of international aid, exercising better needs- and results- assessment, emphasizing social change, increasing aid-awareness among First World citizens, and using media to ensure ethical assistance. Recommendations also focus on providing foreign personnel with better training, creating a new economic order, and engaging in research on the emergence of subversive elites, the importance of socio-cultural traits, and the validity of the modernization paradigm in the post-industrial / post-modern era.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS, NOMENCLATURE AND ABBREVIATIONS

CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DC	Developed countries
GNP	Gross National Product
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (WB)
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Less-developed country
MNC	Multinational corporation
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
TNC	Transnational corporation
UDC	Underdeveloped country
WB	World Bank

GLOSSARY OF EXPRESSIONS AND TERMS

Caudillismo	Form of political regime prevailing under caudillos.
Caudillo	A head of state, especially a military dictator, in Latin America's Spanish-speaking countries.
Concientización	Conscientization, a product of education for freedom in the freirian approach to the pedagogy of the oppressed.
Conquistadores	Spanish conquerors of Latin America.
Credencialista	Person, society, system, or social climate placing unreasonable and disproportionate value and importance on credentials, degrees, diploma, or other forms of certification.
Criollos	Persons born in Spanish America, but of Spanish ancestry.
Dependentista	Person espousing the dependency theory or similar views.
Eldorado	Legendary city of South America sought by the early Spanish explorers for its treasure, especially gold.
Encomendero	Individual administering, controlling and owning an *encomienda*.
Encomienda	Latin American colonial institution based on the repartition of indians among conquistadores. The indian was obliged to work or pay his master -- called *encomendero* -- who in turn had the obligation to instruct the indian in christian religion, and other topics, in accordance with the *Leyes de Indias* (Laws of the Indies). It was not uncommon, under such system, for the indians to be treated as slave -- reason for which the system was theoretically abolished in the eighteenth century.
Fuga de cerebros	Brain drain.
Hacienda	Large landed estate, especially one for ranching or farming.
Latifundium (a)	A large agricultural estate, especially in the ancient world or in Spain and Latin America.
Libertadores	Liberators of Latin American nations; leaders of local insurrectional forces in the independence conflicts against Spain.

Mestizos	Persons of racially mixed ancestry, in Latin America.
Metropole	French word commonly used during colonial times to describe European countries having colonies. This word has been adopted in the English language to describe industrial countries of the world and distinguish them from less developed regions. The latter are, in this context, often referred-to as periphery.
North	Generic term widely used in developmental literature to describe rich, advanced, industrialized nations. Usually used in conjunction with *South*, a generic term describing less developed nations -- such as most countries in the Third World.
Pacha Mama	Mother Earth (Quechua expression).
Parents pauvres	French expression describing persons or items of lesser value.
Patrón	Boss or owner -- originally with reference to a rural context.
Peninsulares	Persons born in Spain, but living in Latin America.
Peon (es)	Farm worker(s) or unskilled labourer(s). A person(s) held in servitude to work off debts or other obligations. Any person of low social status, especially one who does menial or unskilled work. (Latin America).
Rentier	A person who has a fixed income, as from lands or bonds -- without experiencing the need for working.
South	Generic term widely used in developmental literature to describe poor, less-advanced, non-industrialized nations -- most of which have a colonial past. Usually used in conjunction with *North*, a generic term describing advanced, industrialized, developed nations -- such as the US and most of Western Europe.
Terratenientes	Owners of large tracts of land.
Ultramar	Overseas; used here in the context of overseas territories.

CHAPTER I -- OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

This study focusses on development attempts of selected South American nations to achieve a higher level of economic development. The period under study focused on the last three decades (1964 to 1994). These development attempts have been supported by international aid, which has placed the region on a course of modernization and international economic development. In this context, education has often been perceived as an indispensable tool to support economic development.

Purpose

The study resulted from the researcher's personal field experience in South America as a foreign consultant for a major international agency. Based on this field experience which occurred between 1988 and 1991, the purpose of the research is to investigate selected underlying international development philosophies, examine the weaknesses and merits of these philosophies, and examine the associated development strategies. In so doing, the researcher hopes to contribute to a better general understanding of the development challenges currently faced by Latin America.

Background

In the early times of hispanic settlement or administration, few forms of institutionalized or organized assistance to the colonies existed. Later, limited forms of direct western involvement appeared on the scene, as was the case as in the exploitation of mining and agricultural resources (Furtado, 1970). Eventually, obsolete industrial practices and narrow forms of commodity economies were introduced (Khasbulatov,

1987). The direct consequences of this involvement were the limiting of South American industrial and economic potential, with an accompanying lack of diversification. The region of focus, like the majority of Third World nations, embraced the imported forms of industrialization and failed to develop truly indigenous ones (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; Quijano, 1990; and Weaver, 1980).

Political independence, unfortunately, did not bring about the blessings many had expected (Bolivar, 1988). As Swift observed in the context of Latin America, independence "was more the overthrow of one aristocratic class by another. For this reason there were no real structural changes in the economies of South America following independence" (1978, p.51). In fact, independence consisted largely of shifting from metropole-dominated colonialism (dominated by European colonial powers) to a blend of internal colonialism exercised by the local elite / bourgeoisie and neo-colonialism exercised by leading western powers (Becker, 1983; Furtado, 1970; Portes & Walton, 1981; and Weaver, 1980).

The first type of western, organized, educational help received by colonies came in the form of missionary education (Bilbao, 1980). Soon, however, missionaries started to use education as an efficient instrument of social control and domination, to the benefit of growing colonial powers. The net results of this early educational interference were the destruction of traditional indigenous educational systems, and the devaluation of local religious and cultural beliefs.

As colonial empires expanded, so did the need for an elaborate administrative / bureaucratic system (Carnoy, 1974). This brought about another phase of education to

the Third World, the purpose of which was to educate civil servants recruited from the local population. This alternative was politically desirable, and considerably more economical than importing exiled bureaucrats from Europe. European civil servants, in those days, were subjected to a highly academic form of education, the curriculum focussing strongly on classical humanities and the study of Greek and Latin. For reason of expediency, tradition, continuity and logistics, colonial powers exported the same type of academic education to the colonies. Accompanying this expansion of classical education, was a marked neglect of virtually all other forms of schooling. This phenomenon was, and still is, especially noticeable in the area of practical or technical training (Bacchus, 1975; Buttari, 1979; and Carnoy, 1980). Political independence and nationhood failed to change the educational scene to any significant extent (Altbach, 1971). This, in turn, ultimately resulted in the currently prevailing lack of locally-trained specialists in technical fields (Buttari, 1979; and Schiefelbein, 1979). This shortage of locally trained specialists placed Less Developed Countries (LDCs) in a weak position to compete in an ever-more global / westernized economy (Von Laue, 1987).

Because of this, many governments of the South have frantically attempted to solve their internal problems by applying western approaches to modernization and the development of human capital with the aid of international assistance (Fajnzylber, 1990; and Lall, 1975, 1983, 1992). These concepts of modernization and formation of human capital will be further explored in Chapter II. Proponents of such approaches, view development as hinging on a shift from traditional to modern forms of societies (Lerner, 1958), the acquisition of a desire to achieve (McClelland, 1967), and the investment in

human capital (Meier, 1978; and Schultz, 1963, 1981, 1989). Education and training of the workforce are viewed as key factors in establishing and maintaining the economic development and the socio-political democratization of a country. As mentioned by Frederik Harbison, leading proponent of the human capital theory,

> human resources constitute the ultimate basis for wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations, and carry forward national development. Clearly, a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else. (1973, p.3).

Unfortunately, modernization-based economic development and the creation of human capital do not seem well suited to the great majority of developing nations. Today as yesterday (especially according to social indicators such as mortality and fertility rates, literacy, human rights, migration, and others) most of the Third World is still largely underdeveloped by western standards (Cassen *et al*, 1986; Cole, 1987; Raymond, 1991; and Todaro, 1986). "The main assumptions of the modernization theory (in spite of ever-increasing amount of empirical evidence that undermines the theory conclusions) still survive as a principal policy-making view within Latin American Ministries of Education" (Torres, 1990, p. 35), as witnessed by the researcher when he lived and worked in the region.

Research Focus

The present research investigates the attempts, by nine selected developing nations of Latin America *(represented by the light-dotted areas in Figure 1)*, at using education within the framework of modernization and human capital to bring about economic development. As shown on the map, the selected area (henceforth referred-to as the region of focus) consists of: Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia. The study attempted to assess the views of two groups: (1) major international aid agencies and donor/beneficiaries governments, and (2) leading critical scholars concerning development and modernization. As such, the study is both qualitative and documentary. The study assumes the general form of a comparative analysis of existing literature encompassing both traditional development and critical sources.

Figure 1: South America -
Region of focus is light shaded

Statement of Problem

The study examines the origins and nature of economic underdevelopment, the strategies used by major international aid organizations and local governments to offset such lack of development, and the outcomes of educational and developmental aid. The study compares agencies and individuals promoting traditional modernization and human capital training paradigms (*traditional*), to scholars supporting the dependency model and critically questioning the traditional view (*critical*).

The researcher chose the label "traditional" for the first group because individuals, agencies, and organizations placed in this category have conventional and conservative views of education, aid, and development. They express opinions and beliefs historically related to westerns ideas and ideologies, and have a marked tendency to focus mainly on economic macro-implications of education, aid, and development. It should be noted that, used in this context, the word "traditional" does not have the meaning of pre-modern, nor any relation to the concept of traditional culture.

The term of "critical" was selected for the second group because it includes individuals espousing less "official" or conservative views of education, aid, and development, while drawing considerably from marxist ideology. They challenge the traditional perspective, focus on economic micro-implications, and pay greater attention to the many social implications of education, aid, and development.

Specific Research Questions

In terms of specific focus, the present thesis addresses the following eight questions:

1. What is development, according to the modernization paradigm? This question focuses on the definition of development presented by modernization proponents, a definition generally widely accepted by the lay public in western countries. The response to this question can be found in the review of generic development literature conducted in Chapter II, as well as in Chapter III.
2. Where does the perception of the need for modern development come from? This

investigation focuses on the history of Third World underdevelopment, and on the significance of western ideas in the perception of this need. The response to this question can be found in the literature review covered in Chapter II, as well as in Chapter III.

3. Why is modern development perceived by international assistance organizations and some prominent citizens of developing nations to be a pressing priority? This question (looking into the phenomenon of economic globalization) focuses on the realities of the existing economic order. The response to this question can be found in the literature review conducted in Chapter II, as well as in Chapter III.

4. What kind(s) of educational aid did international agencies prescribe, finance, and implement over the last thirty years to help the region of focus develop? This investigation highlights the areas of focus and priority, and the general philosophical tenets of the said organizations during the mentioned period of time. The response to this question can be found in the generic literature review conducted in Chapter II, as well as in Chapter III.

5. How are developmental and educational efforts presented in terms of underlying philosophies, desirability, success, and lasting impact by the agencies sponsoring them? The response to this question can be found in the generic literature review conducted in Chapter II, as well as in Chapter III.

6. How are developmental and educational efforts presented in terms of underlying philosophies, desirability, success, and lasting impact by critical scholars? The response to this question can be found in Chapter IV.

7. Do the traditional and critical views differ in terms of philosophies, goals, and expectations, and if so, why and on what points? This seventh question will be explored in Chapter Von the basis of responses to questions #4, #5, and #6.

Operational Definitions

Development: The state of economic, scientific, technological, industrial, social, and political advancement exhibited by a given nation. This term is used in a broad manner throughout the thesis. When used with a specific and limited emphasis, of importance to the reader, the word "development"is accompanied by one of the above-listed qualifier.

Modernization: Process generating in developing countries a developmental evolution similar to that historically experienced by advanced Western nations. This process changes the state of economic, scientific, technological, industrial, social, and political advancement exhibited by a developing nation to more closely resemble that of a developed nation.

Educational aid: Assistance provided by developed nations to help Third World countries improve their educational systems. Such assistance is customarily provided in the form of loans, models and expertise.

Developmental efforts: Efforts exerted by Third World nations on their way to development and modernization. These efforts are customarily assisted by developed

nations' provision of loans, models and expertise.

Educational efforts: Efforts exerted by Third World nations to improve and modernize their educational systems. These efforts are customarily assisted by developed nations' provision of loans, models and expertise.

Research Delimitations

To address the research questions the researcher drew exclusively from documentary sources such as books, reports, conference proceedings, bulletins, news releases, and the likes, all of which are available locally, or have been gathered personally by the researcher during his lengthy stays in the region of focus. Documentary research has been selected as the preferred method as supplementary field study would: (a) produce results equally influenced by the nature of the respective sources, and (b) be exceedingly costly and unreasonably time-consuming. Furthermore, documentary research techniques fit the nature of the inquiry better than do most strategies, because they permit an extensive coverage of the topics articulated in the research questions.

In this study, nations having a communist or socialist regime, or having recently experienced a proletarian revolution, were not considered. This decision was made on the ground that the nature of their political climate and ideological alignment made them virtually ineligible for the type of international assistance discussed here.

Research Limitations

In terms of limitations, and although efforts have been made throughout this thesis to eliminate or, at the very least, minimize its undesirable influence, it is fair to suspect that, at times, the researcher's personal experience in development, specifically as it

affects interpretation of references or weighing of literature significance, might manifest itself. In this regard, it is clearly indispensable for the author to disclose here his dualistic political and philosophical orientations.

As a consequence of doing developmental work in the geographical region covered by this study, the researcher has developed a critical perspective with respect to the nature and value of international aid, as it exists in its present forms. The meaning of the term critical is to be understood, as mentioned above, as supportive of the liberation / empowerment model and questioning the traditional developmentalist view. This perspective provided the intrinsic motivation for the researcher to do this study and accounts significantly for its completion.

In addition, to cast a true image of the researcher it is also necessary to state that he served as a consultant to a government in the region of focus, on behalf of a major international development agency, and that, until the above mentioned perspective emerged, he entertained rather traditional views on most development- and assistance-related issues. In light of this duality of mind, it is reasonable to anticipate that the researcher attempted to provide a balanced perspective, located somewhere between the traditional and critical perspectives. This attempt at a balanced perspective should help in limiting research bias, assisting in a fair and accurate representation of current theoretical views, and allowing a fair and accurate assessment of the literature and other sources.

Rationale for Selecting Research Direction

The present research was selected by the author on the basis of eight factors: past personal experiences, future professional plans, personal education, pressing contemporary

ethical concerns, observed developmental orientation in the North (economically developed parts of the world) and in the South, global importance of the South, and likely transferability of findings to other LDCs. These factors, and their componential elements, are diagrammatically represented in Figure 2, and explained in detail below.

Personal Experiences

The first factor, referred-to as personal experiences, relates to the fact that, during his life, the author has resided in four continents, where he did considerable travelling and, on several occasions, academic work. In addition, the researcher is himself truly multicultural, polyglot, and has developed over the years a sincere appreciation for so-called traditional cultures.

Personal Education

A second factor relates directly to some specific aspects of the researcher's education. Throughout his academic training, the researcher always took advantage of any opportunity to satisfy his own interest, and acquire formal knowledge, in cultural anthropology, languages, economic development, sociology, and history.

Future Professional Plans

Thirdly, due to deep personal interest and previous involvement, the author has the definite intention to continue working in the region focused upon in this study. This decision strongly accounts for the need to define and clarify his own perspectives on development and aid, with special emphasis placed on the geographical area in question.

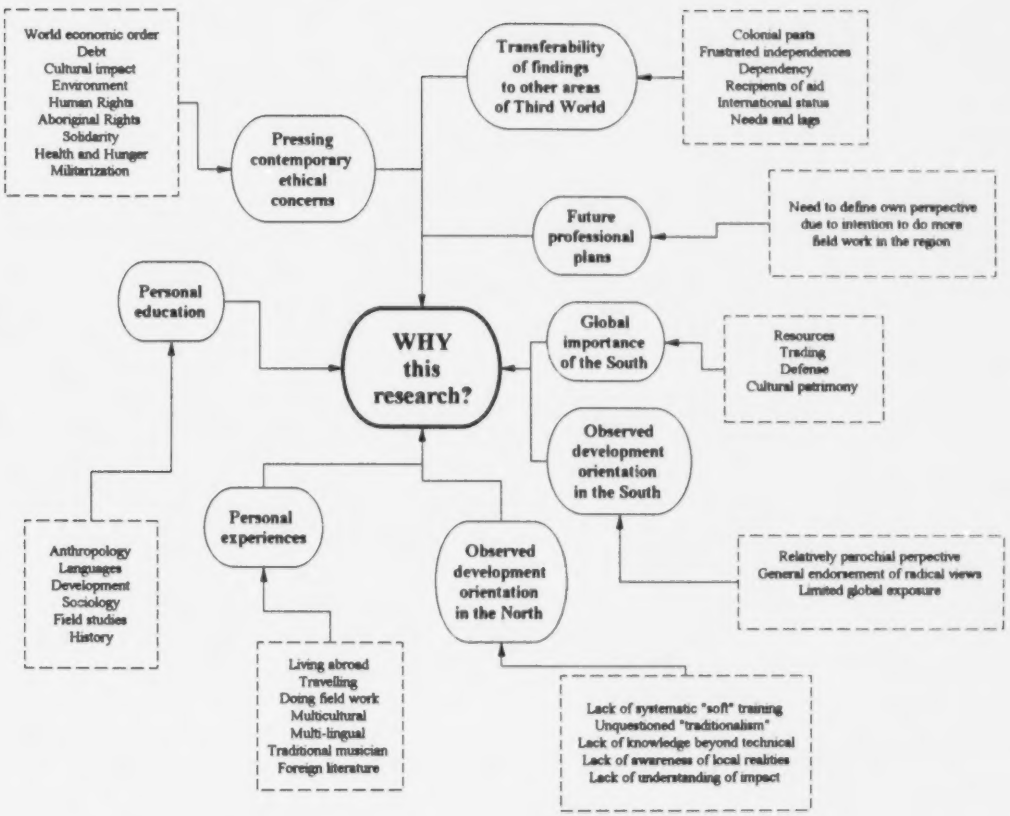

Figure 2. Why this research?

Pressing Contemporary Ethical Concerns

Fourth, even the most inattentive of observers would agree that our epoch presents us with many crucial and pressing ethical concerns of global dimensions: the contemporary world economic order (Raffert, 1987); the phenomenon of accelerated social, political, and economic globalization and westernization (Von Laue, 1987); the impact of debt in the Third World (Adams, 1991; and George, 1989), and its results in the First World (Raymond, 1991); the influence western globalization has on cultures (especially traditional ones in LDCs); the unprecedented pressure put on the environment (Brown, Flavin, & Postel, 1992) by DCs and LDCs alike -- albeit for different reasons; the issues of human and aboriginal rights (Schniedewind & Davidson, 1983; and Nietschmann, 1988); the ever-more pressing need for worldwide human solidarity (Toh, 1987); the spectre of illness and hunger (Cetron & Davies, 1991; Elliott, 1991; and Weeks, 1992); and the dangers of out-of-control militarization (Mendelsohn, 1992; and Webb, 1986). All are extremely serious international problems, prompting further investigation of the roles possibly played by foreign aid and development in these issues.

Observed Developmental Orientations in the North and the South

Fifth and sixth, the existence of different developmental orientations characterizing the North and South, observed personally by the research while in the field, justifies the time and effort necessary to take a closer look at the practices, processes, and players of the international assistance game. For the purpose of discussion at this preliminary stage, such orientations (which will be fully explored elsewhere in this study) can be summarized in the following terms: (a) many individuals and organizations in the North hold a view of

development rooted in traditional modernization, with little or no concern for, and understanding of, local Third World issues and realities, and historical factors while (b) with the notable exception of local governments, many in the South view development more critically, less practically, and more parochially than universally, that is, more regionally than globally.

Global Importance of the South

Seventh, with a shrinking economic world (largely due to technological improvements related to transportation, communications, and information processing), the global importance of the South cannot be ignored or downplayed. Consequently, considering the Third World's significance in terms of natural resources, primary commodities, trading opportunities, strategic implications, and human cultural patrimony, it is in the interest of all those living in industrialized nations to strive to better understand the realities experienced by their *concitoyens* in the Third World.

Transfer of Findings to Other Areas of the Third World

Lastly, in light of realities common to the majority of LDCs, such as a colonial past, frustrated political independencies, internal and neo-colonialism, dependency, unenviable international status, and economic lag (Todaro, 1986), the researcher feels confident of the transferability of findings, results, and conclusions of the present study to Under-Developed Countries (UDCs) the world over, which lends a wider applicability to the whole undertaking.

Research Significance

This study's significance is that it could provide support to aid citizens of

Developed Countries (DCs) to better understand their own perspectives and assumptions of what development is, or should be. Furthermore, considering the ever-increasing debts accumulated by developing nations in their attempts to modernize and bridge the gap separating them from western countries (George, 1989), the failures of our educational assistance, and the aid paradigms we use and promote, can no longer go unquestioned (Cassen *et al*, 1986).

Brief Overview of the Methodology

Data-analysis was performed in a manner similar to that used in the emergent / evolutionary open model described by L' Ecuyer (1988), which, concentrating on content analysis of documents, is ideally suited to the type of research conducted here. This model features the progressive elaboration of a data-analysis matrix based on the emergence of themes during the review of sources / data. First, the review of literature started with as few preconceived ideas as possible; these were grounded in pre-research knowledge and were limited to what was absolutely necessary to identify broad areas of investigation. Then, as the review process continued, an early identification of recurrent ideas took place. These ideas were reinforced as the research progressed and became dimensions. Initially started with one hundred and twenty- five dimensions (presented in Appendix C), the matrix was reduced and simplified to a total of eleven themes (see Chapter II -- Table 1). These themes were used throughout the study. The process of emergence of themes in this study is illustrated in Figure 3. The steps shown in Figure 3 are arranged in a funnel-like fashion, and progressively narrow the process toward the articulation of questions of inquiry.

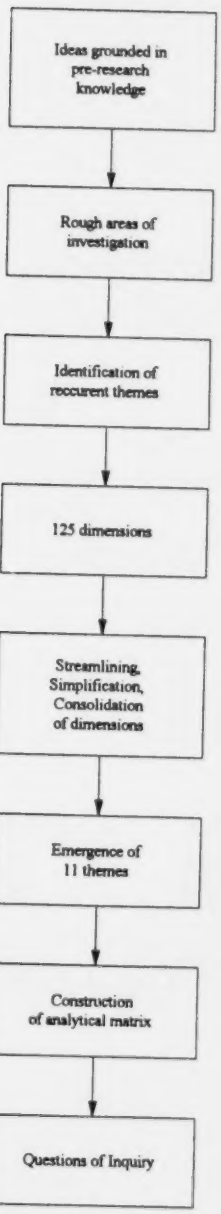

Figure 3. Emergence of themes

Once constructed, the matrix facilitated comparative thematic analysis. In this thematic analysis, each individual theme was carefully scrutinized, in each of the two schools of thought, for its appearance, absence, usage, and meaning. The appearance, absence, usage, and meaning provided the researcher with considerable insights into the views of traditionalists and critical scholars concerning aid, education, and development. For example, the appearance or absence of some themes could attract the researcher's attention to the fact that related aspects of educational aid were, or were not, considered; similarly, themes could be mentioned, but the meaning ascribed to them could be entirely different from one school of thought to the other.

These eleven themes were identified, confirmed, and selected for matrix construction, for they have met the following criteria identified by L' Ecuyer (1988). First they were exhaustive in terms of answering the various aspects of the specific research questions. Second, they existed in limited and manageable number. Third, they were clear in their meaning of what they represented. Fourth, they were all pertinent to the present research. And fifth, they were productive, presenting a good probability of generating further studies by others interested in the same topic of research.

Thesis Organization

In terms of layout and organization, the thesis is structured in a somewhat non-traditional manner. **Chapter I** sets the stage for the entire study, starting with a relatively broad discussion of aid and educational aid for development, then focusing on the specifics of these issues as they relate to Spanish South America, and moving on to the development of the research questions. In addition, Chapter I addresses issues pertaining

to research significance, research selection, limitations, delimitations, and researcher orientation / background.

Chapter II, which is customarily a Literature Review, has been subjected to some slight modifications. Since the present thesis consists exclusively of documentary research, in which the literature itself becomes data, Chapter II takes the form of a combined Methodology and Review of the Literature chapter. As an integral part of this chapter, a brief synoptic introduction to aid and development in the Third World is presented to provide readers with an appropriate conceptual background. The methodology subsection describes the processes and procedures used in the study.

Chapter III focuses discussion on the South American region shown in Figure 1. It introduces the reader to the traditionalist understanding of the origins and causes of underdevelopment. It outlines the efforts and aid projects recommended and sponsored by international organizations, as well as the philosophical views of international-aid agencies and sponsoring governments. The presentation starts with the basic tenets of human capital, modernization, industrialization, progress, and development. Finally, it ends observing that the official bodies in question customarily perceive and present aid (and educational assistance in particular) as being a good, beneficial, and just endeavour exhibiting a high degree of priority for ensuring individual, national, and global survival.

Chapter IV brings the focus of discussion to the specific region shown in Figure 1, presents the perspective of critical scholars concerning underdevelopment, international assistance in general, and educational aid in particular. Here, the investigation concludes with the realization that aid and education can be very effective tools of imperialism,

domination, and oppression. The chapter then considers some alternative developmental strategies suggested by the critics of traditional aid.

Chapter V provides a comparison and contrast of the two views expressed in chapters III and IV in an attempt to better understand the multiple aspects of international aid and educational assistance.

In **Chapter VI** the researcher draws conclusions from a strictly individual perspective. He expresses his personal opinions, views, values, beliefs, worldviews, hopes, and expectations concerning the subject of educational aid and development.

CHAPTER II -- METHODOLOGY AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Diagrammatic Overview of the Methodology

The information of this chapter is diagrammed in Figure 4. At the outset, the researcher saw the entire study as comprising four major methodological concerns: the actions required to conduct the research, the reasons for these actions, the research-related issues, and the support used during the research.

As shown in Figure 4, the actions to be taken included: studying the existing literature, selecting sources from that literature, gathering them, grouping them, and reviewing them. From this review, a broad list of themes has been produced, and an analytical matrix constructed, refined, and used to analyze the reviewed literature and make sense of it (see Appendix D). Information is presented to explain the two perspectives considered in the study, as well as to permit comparison between them. From this comparison, and the many steps leading to it, tentative conclusions, recommendations and suggestions have been made.

Gaining knowledge of the existing literature, selecting sources from that body of literature, gathering them, grouping them, and reviewing them was necessary in order for the researcher to become familiar with current concerns. This information was used to construct a conceptual framework with which to organize the research. The framework was in a perpetual state of revision in response to new data, discoveries, and findings (see the bi-directional arrows in Figure 4).

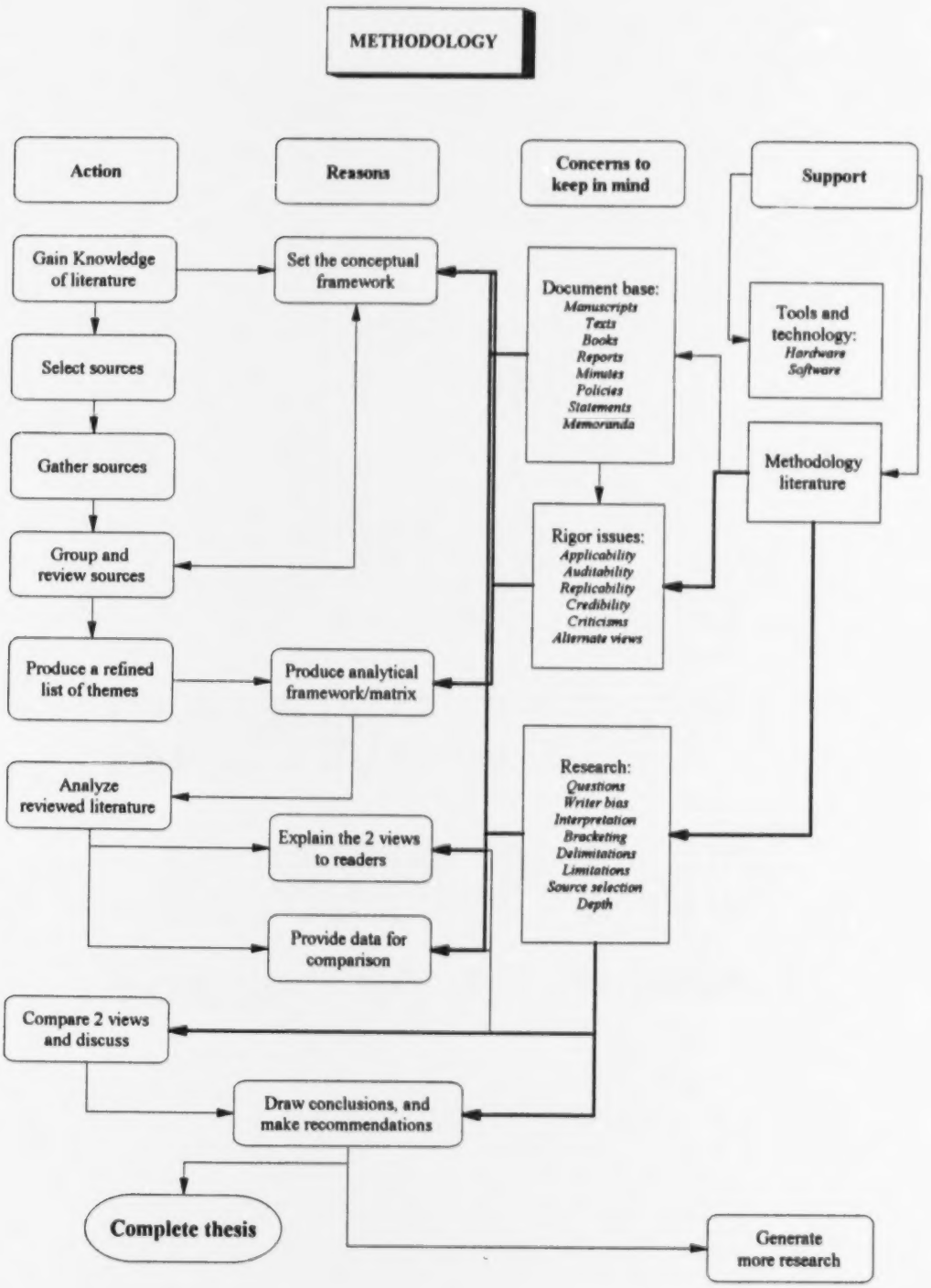

Figure 4. Methodology

As is customarily the case in the development of a conceptual framework, the process was in a quasi-constant state of evolution, and often revisited so as to continuously readjust it in light of new data, discoveries, and findings (as indicated by bi-directional arrows in the diagram).

By its very nature, the study was based on documents and required support in terms of specific methodological techniques and strategies. This support was found in an abundant methodology literature, literature which attracted the researcher's attention to serious research concerns and issues related to documentary studies. The methodology literature provided a guide for selecting which types of documents to use as sources, on how the data would be used, on how the originally defined dimensions could be reduced to a manageable number of analytical themes, and on how the research would be conducted to rigour requirements. Here again, interaction between the methodology literature, concerns, and the study, was on-going, multi-directional, and in a state of near-permanent flux during most of the time the research took.

Although the study is presented in a linear manner, the research was accomplished in a non-linear fashion. This accounts for the linking of the components identified in Figure 4.

Nature of the Research

The present thesis is qualitative and documentary. It is exclusively literature-based, and, as such, makes use of existing data. In essence, then, the literature itself becomes the data (Lang & Heiss, 1984), and the presentation of results and the discussion of data are simultaneous. As is the case with most documentary or historical studies, it

relies extensively on a systematic and critical analysis of sources (Hockett, 1955; and Leedy, 1993), based on well-defined themes emerging from the literature (L' Ecuyer 1988).

The present work belongs to the documentary research category , for it is based on documents (Lang & Heiss, 1984), covers a relatively limited period of contemporary time (Leedy, 1993), excludes true historical remains (such as physical evidences, ruins, etc.), and does not reconstruct the past to interpret it. These characteristics clearly distinguish this thesis from a purely historical one (Erickson, 1985). Documents on which the research is based were, in the overwhelming majority of instances, unpremeditated. That is, they were not intended, by design, to record specific information substantiating the history and/or evolution of any particular organization, government, or other entity (Borg, Gall, & Gall, 1993). These documents, as is customary in documentary research, were quite varied in nature (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992), and consisted of manuscripts, books, texts, reports, minutes of meetings, policy statements, and memoranda.

Documentary research was selected as the best tool to approach the research questions. The breadth of the investigation, specifically in terms of geographical coverage, precluded other commonly used qualitative methods such as observation, interviews, or surveys/questionnaires (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Borg, Gall, & Gall, 1993; and Stock, 1985). In addition to being more time-efficient and more economical, documentary research is better able to encompass a broad spectrum of opinion. Such variety is necessary to ensure that the various schools of thought are represented (Lang & Heiss, 1984). Lastly, due to previous research experiences, the researcher was more familiar

with this approach than with others (Holmberg, 1990; and Stock, 1985).

Research Rigor and Associated Concerns

Being qualitative in nature, this documentary research faced some of the rigor dilemmas commonly associated with non-quantitative studies (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Therefore the researcher paid particular attention to the issues of applicability, replicability, auditability, internal and external criticisms, credibility, and other possible pitfalls of qualitative research (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). The research exhibits an acceptable degree of applicability, for it appears that the results could be extrapolated to other relatively similar development cases. This applicability is related to the universality of educational and developmental aid provided by agencies (Todaro, 1986).

Replicability was a consideration at all times (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). Efforts were made to provide as much detail as possible regarding sources' location, researcher's orientations and limitations, geographical delimitations, data gathering procedures, and analytical framework. It is reasonable, therefore, to anticipate that another researcher could replicate the present study. Auditability issues (Sandelowski, 1986) were closely considered. With these in mind, the researcher attempted to communicate how he became interested in the subject matter, how he viewed the topic, what the specific purpose of the research was, and what the scope and length of the literature research and data collection were. The issue of credibility in historical research (Gottschalk, 1969) did not present a problem, for the study was not dealing with witnesses' accounts or historical reporting, and satisfactory degrees of corroboration existed between multiple sources in each of the two perspectives reviewed.

Aside from the above mentioned rigor issues, the following pitfalls commonly encountered in pure historical studies were also recognized and assessed for detrimental impact. The concept of historical time (Leedy, 1993), which can strongly influence the *post-facto* interpretation of facts, occasionally to a point of distorting them, was of no importance here, for the research dealt near-exclusively with contemporary data (Schafer, 1974), that is, data pertaining to the researcher's lifetime. For the same reason, presentism, a tendency among researchers to interpret past events in light of more recent concepts (Borg, Gall, & Gall, 1993), could be safely ignored, for the present research deals only with contemporary data. On similar grounds, distortion through time did not play a part in the writings reviewed, for they were too recent; exaggeration of the author's historical role(s) was not an issue; accuracy of accounts was as good as one can ever expect it to be in a study of this sort; and forgeries were practically impossible due to the stature and reputation of the sources (Leedy, 1993). In addition, problems related to the issue of privacy and permission-to-quote did not manifest themselves since references and sources were published and virtually accessible to all parties wanting to review them.

Additional precautions, related to rigor, were also taken throughout this work. To substantiate adequately the two perspectives discussed multiple sources were consulted (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; and Leedy, 1993) and alternative interpretations to arguments were analyzed and criticized throughout the study (Borg, Gall, & Gall, 1993).

Technology as a Tool of Research

To assist the researcher, technology was used where possible and appropriate (Moore, 1987). Areas of use consisted primarily of electronic library searches, planning,

photocopying, note-taking, information storage, retrieval, sorting, handling, and manuscript preparation. IBM© compatible computers were used extensively in all steps of the study. The research was planned using Gantt charts and task lists produced on Quick Schedule Plus© software, and all significant steps were recorded in detail on Lotus Organizer 1.1 © . Micro-cassettes and dictaphones were heavily relied on for brainstorming and rapid note-taking. The information generated in this manner was later transcribed.

Where feasible, data and related information were scanned directly onto diskettes, using a Logitech Scanman© hand held optical scanner, and a combination of Scanman© and Catchword© software -- keeping data-input time to the absolute minimum. This approach proved to be very useful in recording quotes. Scanned and keyboarded information was imported, when required, into Procite©, a database permitting convenient storage, classification, categorization, cross-referencing, and selective retrieval of bibliographical data. More generic types of database and spreadsheets (Microsoft Works©) were used to construct the basic analytical matrix and keep track of contributors to be acknowledged, expenses incurred, and other significant bits of information and *administrivia*. The entire thesis was brainstormed, structured, developed, prepared, formatted, revised, and produced using WordPerfect 5.2© for Windows© and many of its built-in tools.

Organizing the Research

Once a general research idea was conceived, the initial step was to properly plan and organize the undertaking (Moore, 1987). This early planning yielded the flow-chart

presented in Figure 5, an instrument giving the researcher a rough map to guide his efforts; efforts first broadly identified in Figure 4. To this end a systematic approach based on mind-mapping was taken (Leedy, 1993; and Borg, Gall, & Gall, 1993). The tentative results of this mind-mapping exercise permitted the preparation of an equally tentative Gantt chart listing not only all significant stages of the research (as Figure 5 did), but also their placement in time. This process then yielded a calendar of events, a list of critical steps, and the identification of indispensable resources (in the broadest sense of the word). The organizational process was suspended for approximately four weeks, to provide a better understanding of the study's needs, strengths, and weaknesses. This return to the study led to a second round of organizing. This resulted in the production of a more definite Gantt chart (see Appendix A), a more permanent calendar, a better list of resources, a more precise idea of where to locate these resources and access them, and a much clearer sense of direction.

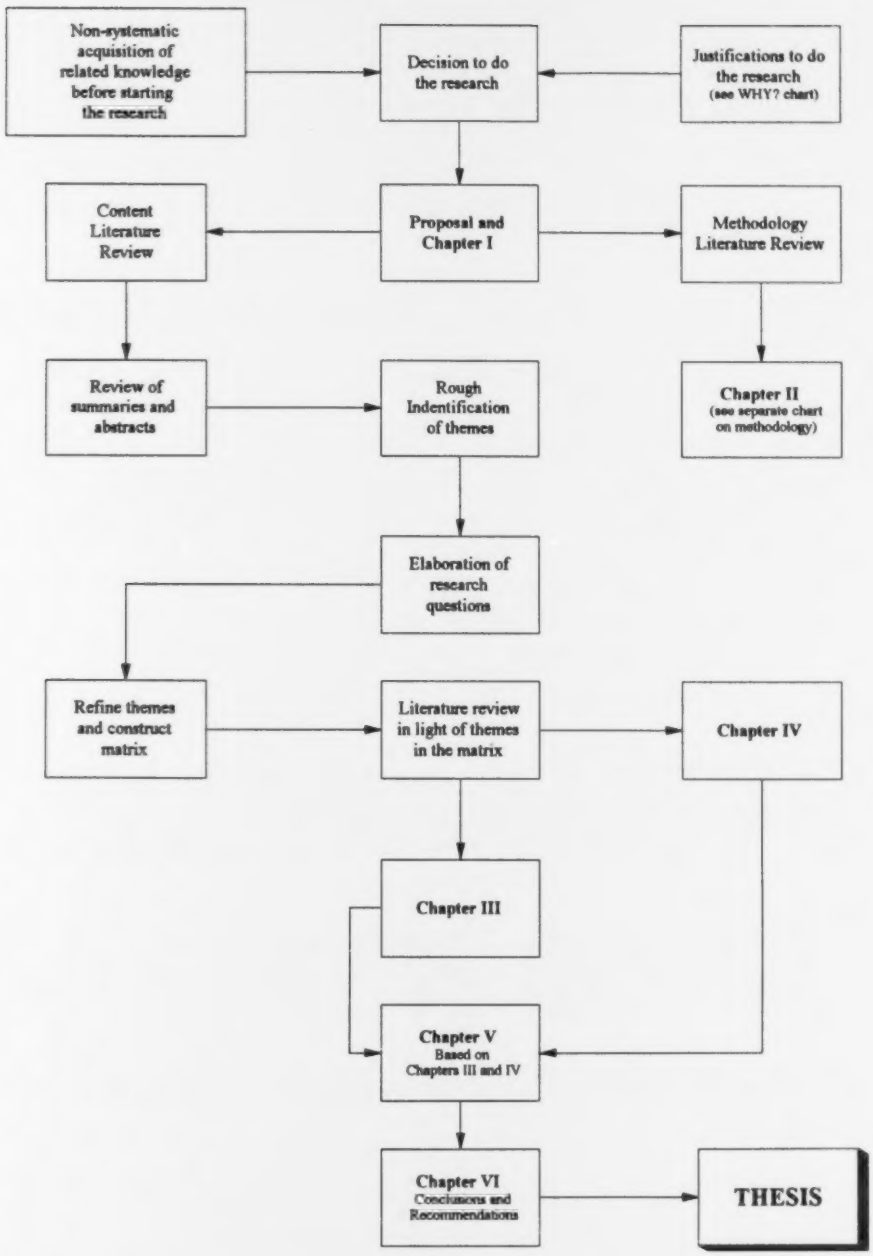
Non-systematic acquisition of related knowledge before starting the research
Decision to do the research
Justifications to do the research (see WHY? chart)
Content Literature Review
Proposal and Chapter I
Methodology Literature Review
Review of summaries and abstracts
Rough Indentification of themes
Chapter II (see separate chart on methodology)
Elaboration of research questions
Refine themes and construct matrix
Literature review in light of themes in the matrix
Chapter IV
Chapter III
Chapter V Based on Chapters III and IV
Chapter VI Conclusions and Recommendations
THESIS

Figure 5: Research organization

Reviewing the Literature

Having worked in development and lived in some LDCs, the researcher noticed that a great difference existed between the expectations and the results of aid. While their reliance on foreign assistance increases these countries experience an economic lag. Their debt accelerates. Perceiving this issue to be crucial, the researcher began to question his Latin American colleagues, and to informally collect miscellaneous data on the topic. Two distinct views of educational assistance, aid, and development began to appear from this early investigation. The researcher decided to label these two perspectives, as stated in Chapter I, the "traditional" and the "critical" schools.

This dichotomy provided a broad initial guideline to the research, thereby giving it a preliminary and tentative orientation. Later, as the researcher delved deeper into the questions (after the review of preliminary sources and abstracts), the validation of this duality of perspectives yielded further organization to the study. The specific literature review conducted to substantiate this research initially numbered 4,258 records. These were approached as broad, possible references (on the basis of abstracts and summaries). They were consulted over a period of months preceding the research per see. Many of these were eliminated on a variety of grounds, such as irrelevancy, unsuitable focus, excessively broad coverage, questionable origins, etc. Eventually, 283 references were selected to be reviewed as valuable sources of information, and, finally, 206 sources were considered to provide essential or significant data. Most of these have been used to support the present study and have been included in the final bibliography presented at the end of the thesis.

As an outcome of this review, it appeared that the literature on aid and education / training for development was indeed polarized, and that the dichotomy applied not only to literature focussing on Latin America, but also to the Third World in general. This polarization corresponds to the two schools of thought referred-to previously. These schools have generated two distinct streams of writing. The first one produced by traditional developmentalists -- claiming the many benefits derived from attitude and value changes (Lerner, 1958; Lidz, 1972; Lipset, 1962, 1967; McClelland, 1967, 1969; and Parsons, 1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985), workers education and training (Harbison, 1973; Meier, 1978; and Schultz , 1963, 1981, 1989), and associated developmental projects (Inter American Development Bank, 1981, 1984, 1992; UNESCO, 1987; and World Bank, 1990, 1991). The second, product of critical intellectuals considering aid and educational assistance to be refined forms of Third World domination by DCs (Biasutto, 1984; Carnoy, 1974; Illich, 1973; Khasbulatov, 1987; Petras 1981; and Topik, 1987).

In terms of citation usage, English translations of quotes from Spanish sources have been prepared by the researcher, who is fluent in Spanish at the academic level, and provided throughout the thesis. However, with the hispanic reader in mind, original Spanish quotes have also been supplied, in Appendix B, numbered in the sequential order in which they appear in the text.

Data Selection and Location

Data were selected on the basis of the following criteria. First, any theme and related arguments had to be corroborated by at least one alternate source of reference. Second, the stature of the author or source was paramount in the weighing of data (La

Nauze, 1966). Third, the data were collected from contemporary sources. The exceptions were references supporting historical events, basic methodological procedures and well-known, accepted theories which have stood the test of time. Fourth, the degree of accessibility and availability of sources within the time frame of this particular study, exerted some definite influence on data collection (Barzun & Graff, 1957). Fifth, the information had to represent both perspectives (in this case, traditional and critical) in a balanced manner. Finally, data were carefully selected and analyzed to provide an accurate and complete view of both schools of thought (Guba &Lincoln, 1985).

The majority of data came via four main bibliographical channels: the different libraries on the campus of the University of Alberta (with special emphasis placed on the Herbert Coutts and Rutherford collections), the Educational Resources Information Centre clearinghouses electronic database (ERIC), the REDUC (Resúmenes Analíticos sobre Educación en América Latina y el Caribe, from Santiago, Chile) microfilmed documents, and the author's personal collection. The latter contained numerous documents and books gathered, in anticipation of completing the present research. These were accumulated during the considerable time he recently spent in the region of focus.

Because of the variety in source origins (geographical, political, and institutional) it is less likely that reference-bias occurred than if all data had been obtained solely from one collection (Leedy, 1993; and Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). If they had been all found at the University of Alberta, for instance the collection could reflect a perceptible institutional orientation. The main commonality these sources have is that they were selected by the researcher.

Handling Sources

During the research, bibliographic sources and references were broken down into five major sections, each supporting a specific aspect of the problems investigated. The break-down in question was effected on the basis of the following justifications. First, it greatly facilitated managing and handling the large number of bibliographical sources identified while the data they provided permitted the researcher to concentrate exclusively on smaller bibliographies addressing specific points under discussion at any given time in the writing. Second, it evolved from a quasi-natural classification of interrelated issues, generated from the reviewed material itself, via emergence of themes (Glaser, 1992). And, finally, the break-down allowed for an initial and rudimentary categorization of sources which later permitted the use of software for input, sorting, and retrieval of information.

The break-down was further refined by colour-coding the various sources according to their level of priority within each of the five subsections of the bibliography. Red was considered to indicate essential sources (which must absolutely be reviewed), green marked secondary sources (desirable to review), blue was associated with references offering a remote potential (nice, but not really indispensable), and yellow was used to indicate questionable sources. As the body of work approached completion, all discrete elements of the bibliography were integrated in a comprehensive bibliographical listing presented at the end of the thesis in accordance with standard academic writing requirements.

The first sources were historical, and looked into the distant and recent pasts of LDCs, from the pre-colonial time to the contemporary era, in an attempt to discover

factors that might have contributed significantly to the emergence of the present state of underdevelopment. After establishing a broad referential basis to the Third World in general, a more specific focus was placed on data pertaining to selected areas of Latin America. This group of sources comprised Section I of the working bibliography.

The second group of sources covered, in a broad manner, the socio-political realities prevailing in the Third World in general, and in the countries encompassed by the study in particular, and linked them to the historical realities referred-to in Section I. As such, these references discussed topics such as paternalism, the development and emergence of local bourgeoisies, elites, and power groups, differential treatment based on races, classes, and properties. They also considered urbanization and migration from rural to urban areas; the different roles ascribed to education (from a means of social emancipator, to one of cultural imperialism); and income distribution within local societies. These sources comprised section II of the working bibliography.

The third group of references focused on economic development issues, productivity, industrialization, centre/periphery relationships, global dependency, international trade and competition, and the need perceived, by experts of the North and elites of the South, for LDCs to become more attuned to a world-scale economy (Section III of the working bibliography). This specific review was, then taken one step further by focusing, in the fourth group of references, on the role played in development and underdevelopment by international aid based on modernization, industrialization, and the creation of human capital. Furthermore, special attention was placed on the kinds of needs identified by DCs' experts and local, westernized elites, the responses suggested to

meet those needs, and the education/training prescribed to do so. (Section IV of the working bibliography). The fifth category of sources addressed the roles that formal, non-formal, and informal education are deemed to play in Third World development, from both a traditional and critical perspective (Section V of the working bibliography). Later, a sixth literature subsection was added to deal exclusively with sources pertaining to research methodology and associated issues. This part eventually became Section VI of the working bibliography. Sections I to VI mentioned above were only created as working tools to help during the study and were not carried forward in the final thesis chapters nor the bibliography.

Data Review / Analysis and Associated Methodology

Theme Emergence in Documentary Research

Data review / analysis was performed as in the emergent/evolutionary open model described by L' Ecuyer in "L' Analyse de contenu: notion et étapes" (1988). This model features the progressive elaboration of a data-analysis matrix based on the emergence of themes during the review of sources/data. First, although the traditional and critical schools of thought had been informally identified, the review of the literature started with very few preconceived ideas. Then, as the review process continued, an early identification of recurrent ideas took place. In the specific case of the present research this step occurred early during the review of preliminary sources. These ideas were reinforced as research progressed, and helped construct the first list of one hundred and twenty-five dimensions presented in Appendix C. This list was reduced and simplified via a careful process of grouping and deletion -- and yielded the eleven themes presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Themes

#	Theme	Questions of Inquiry
1	Economic development and means of achieving it.	Is there, from both perspectives agreement on the lack of economic development in the region? Is there a link between such economic development and the level of industrialization achieved? What can this lack in economic development be broadly attributed to (assuming it exists)? Assuming development has to be achieved, what are the paradigms, measures, strategies and approaches recommended?
2	Broad historical factors considered.	Are there historical factors that could help explain the present economic situation existing in the region? If so, what are they?
3	Post-independent political evolution.	Can the current social, political, and economic realities of Latin America find some causes in its post-independent political evolution? If so what are they?
4	Generic foreign assistance.	What are the different roles of generic foreign

		assistance? What does generic foreign assistance do for DCs and LDCs respectively? Where is the locus of financing and decision-making in international aid?
5	Elites, modernization, and foreign assistance.	How are elite groups viewed? What are their roles and actions perceived to be? What are their developmental orientations?
6	Commerce/Industry/Agriculture.	What is the state of commerce, industry, and agriculture in the region? In what social and interpersonal climates do they operate? What are the roles and results of foreign assistance and involvement in these areas? Where is the locus of financing and decision-making in assisted undertakings?
7	Research and development.	How does Latin America fare in the area of research and development? What is the role of foreign assistance in such endeavours? And what sort of research and development can foreign assistance help establish and maintain? Where is the locus of financing and decision-making?
8	Technology transfer.	What is the role of assisted technology

		transfer? What is the focus of such transfer? What are the results of such practices? Where is the locus of financing and decision-making?
9	Local education.	What is the role of foreign aid in education? What is the state of contemporary education in the region? What are some of the factors causing the current situation? What are the aims of current education in the region?
10	Educational assistance.	What are the goals of international educational assistance? What are the pedagogical / andragogical orientations of such aid? What can educational assistance do for the people? Where is the locus of financing and decision-making in educational assistance?
11	Practical forms of education in the region in the foreign aid context.	What is the specific focus of practical education? What are its specific goals? Who benefits from such assistance? How is such education locally received by the public? How is such education supported and presented by local ministries? Where is the locus of financing and decision-making in assisted practical education? What are the possible

long-term benefits of practical education for its designated clientele? How well does practical education match occupational needs and realities?

The eleven themes presented covered the relevant dimensions listed in the initial collection appearing in Appendix C. Appendix C encompassed all the elements imbedded in the seven research questions. These eleven themes for matrix construction have met the following criteria identified by L' Ecuyer (1988). First they were exhaustive in terms of answering the various aspects of the specific research questions, for they covered these questions to the satisfaction of the researcher. Second, they were clear in their meaning of what they represented (meanings clarified below). Third, they were all pertinent to the present research, excluding superfluous concepts. And fourth, they were productive, presenting a good probability of generating and facilitating further studies by others interested in the same topic of research. As such, these themes became the very backbone of the investigation of the seven research questions.

The questions listed under "Questions of Inquiry" were used as *filters* by the researcher throughout the study. As such, they ensured that the use of reduced number of themes (eleven) did not cause the researcher to loose sight of important factors originally contained in the initial one hundred and twenty-five dimensions. In other words, the questions of inquiry forced him to constantly focus on the essential parts of each of the eleven themes.

Focus and Understanding of Themes

The following focus and understanding have been attributed, by the researcher, to the themes listed in Table 1, and have been used with the same emphasis throughout the study. It is important for the reader to understand that, since development is clearly of a systemic nature (all its aspects being very intimately interrelated), the themes listed can be said to relate to all research questions simultaneously. In other words, they cut across all themes at the same time, addressing all questions instead of focussing on discrete questions and isolated elements. As a result, and although themes most certainly address all seven research questions, no effort has been made, here, to directly or narrowly link the themes to specific questions. This approach was deliberately selected to ensure the strategy fitted the topic, and to avoid limiting the flexibility of the research by attempting to fragment the unfragmentable.

Economic development and means to achieve it: This theme addresses the lack of economic development of Latin America, and the fact that the region is undeniably behind industrialized nations in a variety of significant areas (explored later in the study). It also considers the link explicitly made, in both the traditional and critical development perspective, between development and achieved level of industrialization. Furthermore, it looks at very broad factors to which developmentalists tend to attribute such situations. Based on the assumption that a need for development exists, this theme addresses in a broad manner the paradigms, strategies, measures, orientations, and philosophy proposed by different groups to effect such development. It also focusses on assisted approaches to development, such as those recommended by international agencies and foreign

governments. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Broad historical factors considered: This theme looks at historical factors which could account for the lack of economic development in the region. Such factors relate to religious and philosophical orientations, hispanic culture, results and influence of the colonization process, and extension of this process via contemporary practices. These factors are well documented and pervasive. They tend to be specific to the region. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Post-independent political evolution: This theme addresses the impact that political evolution in the region might have had on the present economic situation. It pays particular attention to the origins of local revolutions and liberation conflicts, and to the emergence of power groups able to control local political development to their best advantage. Furthermore, this theme looks at the difference in political evolution existing between developed nations and those in the region of focus. This theme also covers recent and present political realities and the local propensity for militarization, viewed in light of global economy and associated constraints. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Generic foreign assistance: This theme focusses on the resources, funding, and guidance provided by foreign assistance in general (elsewhere special focus will be put on educational assistance). It also looks at the locus of decision-making, the level of participation of the various parties involved, the degree of suitability and sustainability of assisted efforts, as well as at the explicit and implicit roles assistance is deemed to play,

both in the metropole, and in the periphery. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Elites, modernization, and foreign assistance: Elites, in Latin America, form a very small but powerful group. Traditionally, this group has been exposed to international influences and more progressive ideas than the rest of the population, even well before the advent of international aid. As such, elites are in a unique position to significantly partake in the development process. This theme examines what role elites are actually perceived to play in the development of the region, as well as how effective their involvement in this context has been to date. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Commerce / Industry / Agriculture: Commerce, industry, and agriculture are often considered accepted pillars of national economies world wide. This theme looks at the local levels of achievement in these areas, the production practices commonly relied upon and the degree and orientation of entrepreneurship characterizing the region. This theme also explores the role and results obtained from foreign assistance in these areas of the economy. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Research and development: This theme investigates the state of research and development in the region, and the magnitude of results achieved. It considers the importance placed by local government on such undertaking and the sort of budgets available. It helps assess the contribution of Latin America to global advancement in science and technology, and the role of foreign assistance in research and development as

a whole. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Technology transfer: In light of the cost inherent in the creation and use of advanced technology, and the economic predicament in which the region finds itself, the development of indigenous technology is difficult to promote and sustain. As such transferring technology from developed nations to less developed ones appears to be a viable compromise. The technology-transfer theme looks at such processes as affect Latin America, and investigates their scope, depth, process, as well as their human, environmental and economic impacts. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

Local education: This theme addresses the state of local education as it presently exists within and without the context of foreign aid. As such, it focusses on its functions, goals, and aims. It looks at its curricula and their orientation. It considers the quantity, quality, and location of existing establishments. It takes into account the quality and quantity of teaching and administrative personnel. It draws attention to available budgets; attendance and completion problems; relevancy of training to local realities of clients, and effectiveness in meeting the needs of the nation and participants. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 4, 5, and 6.

Educational assistance: This theme looks at the functions, goals, and aims of educational assistance in general. It addresses its curricula and their orientation. It considers the origin and magnitude of funds made available. It investigates the relevancy of training to local socio-economic and occupational realities. It pays attention to educational

assistance's effectiveness in meeting the needs of the nation and participants. It examines the sustainability of such efforts, as well as the manner in which such assistance is implemented and used within the framework of local societies. Particular attention is given, under this theme, to the national and international significance of educational assistance. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 4, 5, and 6.

Practical forms of education in the region -- in the foreign aid context: This theme looks at the functions, goals, and aims of practical education -- a form very common under contemporary international assistance. It focusses on practical education's curricula and their orientation. It considers the origin and magnitude of funds made available. This theme investigates the credentials practical education yields. It assesses the importance given by local education ministries to such education. It helps evaluate the effectiveness of practical education in meeting the needs of the nation and participants. And it pays attention to the manner in which such assistance is implemented and used within the framework of local societies. Particular attention is given, under this theme to the national and international significance of practical education. Focus is broadly placed, in this theme, on issues related to questions # 4, 5, and 6.

The eleven themes presented above address directly research questions #1 to #6 inclusive. Questions #7, which focusses on possible differences existing between the traditional and critical views is answered indirectly by cross-comparison of these views within the framework provided by the eleven themes.

Practical Uses of Themes

In practice, each of the described themes was carefully scrutinized in each of the two schools of thought, and compared with each other. This process was facilitated by using the following analytical matrix layout (Figure 6):

#	THEMES	TRADITIONAL	CRITICAL

Figure 6. Analytical matrix layout

The appearance, absence, usage, and meaning, of these themes provided the researcher with considerable insights into the views of traditionalist and critical developmentalists concerning aid, education, and development. For instance, some issues deemed important by one group was not considered by the other.

Themes were placed, in the matrix, along with a cursory description of their treatment by each of the two perspectives (see Appendix D). Later in the research, pertinent passages, quotes, authors' reference and other relevant information substantiating the themes listed in the matrix, were referenced into Procite©, thereby providing easy retrieval.

Brief Introduction to the Concepts of Aid and Development in the Third World

It is important to provide an introduction to the concepts of aid and development in LDCs in general. It is also important to note that the two schools of thought thus far referred-to as traditional and critical match the two diverging developmental paradigms.

The first is known as the traditional / modernization paradigm. It is a First World creation, and expresses a classical interpretation of development This paradigm is often

viewed as the perspective espoused by aid and development officials. This view of development is also widely supported by the media in DCs. The second paradigm, known as the critical / dependency paradigm, is based on the dependency theory. It is rooted in marxism, and popular in LDCs. It antagonizes official views of aid and development and is customarily criticized in the western press.

The Traditional / Modernization Development Paradigm

The notion of development and, consequently, that of the lack of it, emerged in the post-World War II era, during which western powers in general, and the United States in particular, achieved an unprecedented level of industrial and economic development and international domination (Todaro, 1986). This level of development soon became a standard by which the industrial and economic achievements of other countries were being measured by First World economists. In this era countries showing a lower level of advancement were labelled underdeveloped (UDCs) or less-developed (LDCs), while the others, more successful and advanced, were considered to be developed (DCs). This perspective clearly places the concept of traditional development as a conceptual creation of major world industrial powers (Cole, 1987).

In the context of the present global capitalist system, "Vast regions of the world will be left out ... , save on the occasion when they can serve the interests of major powers" (Cetron & Davies, 1991, p. 22). This underdevelopment is perceived, by foreign experts and members of local elites, to be more detrimental than ever before since it prevents nations affected from actively interacting on the world market. Furthermore, the referred-to lack of development is customarily accompanied by poverty, illness, hunger, illiteracy,

authoritarianism, militarization, foreign debt, social and political backwardness (George, 1976, 1992; Harrison, 1990; Jackson, 1990; and Kidder, 1988). Clearly, then, there seems to be a pressing need to bridge the gap existing between DCs and LDCs. It appears desirable for LDCs to do so by industrializing, developing, and modernizing much like DCs have done.

Traditional developmentalists attribute LDCs' lack of development to a series of internal deficiencies (institutional, social, political, and cultural). According to them, these deficiencies found in non-modern societies can be overcome with sufficient resources, expertise, incentive, and guidance, (Webster, 1984). It is a basic assumption of the traditional / classical development and modernization paradigm that industrialized countries have already overcome identical deficiencies in a highly successful manner. As a result successful industrialized countries offer an ideal model for developing nations to follow, and strategies that worked well for DCs should perform equally well for LDCs (Todaro, 1986). This perspective is clearly articulated by Eisenstadt for whom "modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth to the nineteen centuries" (1966, p. 1). Quite naturally, individuals espousing such orientation perceive foreign aid as being crucial in providing the required resources, expertise, incentive, and guidance in assisting LDCs progress along the path of modern development already travelled by western nations.

Over the years, authors espousing the modernization paradigm have developed lists of beneficial features of DCs, of detrimental attributes commonly associated with LDCs,

and a full complement of characteristics of their respective citizens (Germani, 1981). DCs are perceived, in such literature, to be modern, progressive, creative, non-fatalistic, democratic, entrepreneurial, industrialized, literate, urbanized, and future-oriented; while LDCs are viewed as being traditional, non-creative, fatalistic, authoritarian, agrarian, rural, illiterate, and turned towards the past. Prominent, among scholars promoting such ideas, are Talcott Parsons (1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985), who investigated the importance of individual and societal values, norms, and beliefs in the context of development, modernization and progress, and David McClelland (1967, 1969), who explored the differences existing between modern and traditional societies in terms of propensity for entrepreneurship and achievement. In a nutshell, these authors share Bauer's opinion that

> Economic achievement and progress depend largely on human aptitudes and attitudes, on social and political institutions and arrangements which derive from these, on historical experience, and to a lesser extent on external contacts, market opportunities and on natural resources. (1976, p. 41)

It is interesting to note that, in this context, specific groups in traditional societies are deemed to be in a natural position to help usher in desirable changes. These groups consist of those citizens who are forward looking, exposed to modern ideas and ideologies, well educated, and in contact with the outside world (Lipset, 1986), in other words, members of the local intelligentsia and elites.

Development, according to the modernization paradigm, can only be successfully achieved if Third World nations make the transition from a traditional society to a modern one, shake their old attitudes, norms, values, and beliefs and replace them with the

western, capitalist ones commonly found in DCs (Lerner, 1964). These nations must espouse advanced capitalism as the ultimate economic, social, and political system. It is capitalism which will integrate the LDCs into the modern world system.

In the above-described framework, education is perceived by traditional developmentalists to be an ideal vehicle of change, progress, and modernization much like it was by the governments of European and North American nations during their own developmental phases. Not only does education provide its consumers with technical and occupational skills and knowledge, an important factor for answering developmental needs via careful investment in human capital (Harbison, 1973; Meier, 1978; and Schultz ,1963, 1981,1989), but "the educational system may affect values directly through the incorporation of modern values to which students are exposed" (Lipset, 1976, p. 65). Education therefore promotes and maintains a change in popular values and attitudes (Torres, 1990), and an orientation towards the acquisition of traits commonly found in modern, industrialized, DCs (McClelland, 1967, 1969).

Unfortunately, as it presently functions, education in LDCs does not appear to serve the purposes of development, change, creation of human capital, and modernization, in a very effective manner. In fact, as mentioned by Joseph Kizerbo, former Minister of Education of Upper Volta,

> The school in many underdeveloped countries is a reflection and a fruit of the surrounding underdevelopment, from which arises its deficiency, its quantitative and qualitative poverty. But little by little, and there lies the really serious risk, the school in these underdeveloped countries risks becoming in turn a factor of

underdevelopment. (p. 289, in Todaro 1986)

Indeed, Third World educational systems are notorious for being plagued by high drop-out rates, alarming degrees of non-attendance (Bilbao, 1980), and exceedingly academic and obsolete curricula (Bacchus, 1975; and Prieto-Figueroa, 1980). Compounding these difficulties, educational systems of the Third World also experience a lack of sufficient funds (Todaro, 1986), and often rely on the services of under-qualified educators and poor administrators (Bilbao, 1980; Schiefelbein, 1979).

It is not surprising, therefore, if foreign aid is perceived by traditional developmentalists to be essential in providing the financial resources, specialized expertise, training programs, and pedagogical and andragogical models indispensable to modern development. Because of their considerable educational and developmental achievements, western nations are customarily looked upon as sources of educational assistance (Economic Commission for Latin America 1968). In the context of the modernization paradigm, contemporary educational assistance effort often takes the form of programs in non-formal, technical / vocational, pre-vocational, and informal education (Bellew & Moock, 1990; Blat Gimeno, 1983; and Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986). The common denominator of such efforts is, clearly, their strong practical / productive orientation. This orientation is viewed, by those espousing the modernization paradigm, as contributing to the creation of human capital and the increase in economic development by the "training of skilled and semi-skilled manpower for the modern sector of the economy" (Ducci, 1980, p. 60).

To summarize traditional developmentalists view Third World problems as being

inherent to underdeveloped nations, and as a result, support LDCs change from traditional to modern societies. This change must be the result of national efforts aimed at modifying values and creating qualified human capital, thereby following the road previously travelled by DCs during their own developmental phase. If such strategy is implemented, and LDCs also become progressive, creative, non-fatalistic, entrepreneurial, literate, urbanized, and future-oriented, then it is assumed that industrialization and national economic growth will automatically ensue.

The Critical / Dependency Paradigm

The Critical / Dependency Paradigm of development, which is essentially rooted in marxism and pays great attention to unique structural realities existing in Third World societies (such as feudal labour relationships, land tenure, etc.), offers a considerably different view of the underdevelopment experienced by LDCs. Proponents of the dependency perspective criticize the modernization paradigm for it presents the lack of development solely as an intrinsic characteristic of LDCs (Webster, 1984). It reduces the issue of development to one of simple internal economic deficiency (Cole, 1987). Modernization demands profound changes on the part of non-western societies (Abubakar, 1989), promotes charity-like assistance and fails to take into account a multitude of factors maintaining underdevelopment in most Third World nations (Adams & Solomon, 1985).

Foremost among the factors overlooked in the modernization paradigm, is the impact the colonial past had, and still has, on LDCs. It is as if

> the history of mankind has been one happy, relaxed

> and peaceful exchange of ideas, stimulating progress here, there, and everywhere where contact between societies was made. Cultural diffusion appears as a friendly merchant traveller, a timeless Marco Polo, innocently roaming the world, gently picking up a few ideas in one place and harmlessly depositing them in another. Incredulously, the domination, exploitation, and colonialism are not discussed (Hoogvelt, 1976, p. 18).

This is a serious shortcoming, for although many diverse economic, social, and educational systems existed in the Third World before colonial times, the arrival of colonial powers effectively displaced or destroyed them (Carnoy, 1974). Through plunder, seizure, and exploitation, colonial powers of the time monopolized and depleted resources, abused labour, checked any indigenous attempts at industrialization (Furtado, 1970), and implemented and perpetuated feudal forms of land tenure, distribution of resources, and serfage (Galeano, 1973).

The passing of colonial time, and the advent of political independencies often brought about considerable frustration, for instead of giving way to egalitarian societies and democratic regimes and fulfilling the hopes of the local citizenry, independencies often resulted in the domination of the majority by a few (Portes & Walton, 1981). The few in question were members of the local elites who, skilfully managed to occupy the spot left vacant by departed colonialists and who, especially in the case of Latin America, "found the system they inherited from the Spanish colonial past far too comfortable for them to want to stray too far from it in practice" (Burns, 1977, p. 100). In other words, in this context of internal colonialism, the masters changed with political independencies, but the

abusive conditions endured by the people continued under the new national flag.

In many parts of the Third World, and especially so in Latin America, because of their ties with international capitalism, local elites found themselves to be in privileged financial, social, and political positions, being the only ones in contact with the outside world, and acting as intermediaries in all forms of trade (Galeano, 1973). The trade in question depended largely on plentiful natural resources or primary commodities extracted by slave-labour. Elites with capital to spare never perceived the need or urgency to invest in the creation of local industries, or of promoting the diversification of trade and commerce, or ushering in the modernization of agriculture and long-overdue land reforms. On the contrary, whatever gains they made in commercial ventures were customarily diverted to foreign bank accounts, or served to finance their outlandish whims of the moment (Burns, 1977).

More recently, in an attempt to maintain their privileged status without venturing, themselves, into risky commercial enterprises, local elites have aligned themselves wholeheartedly with Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and Transnational Corporations (TNCs) (Lall, 1975, 1983). This resulted in opening wide the doors of their countries to further plunder, exploitation, and domination by financial giants in search of rapid and rewarding business deals (Bornschier, 1985; and Jenkins, 1987). For these giants "the attraction of course is high profits. Indeed, investors receive more return [from their investments in LDCs] than they would expect from similar investments in the United States, Canada, or Western Europe" (Burns, 1977, p.205). By so doing, local dominant classes effectively contribute to western hegemony in LDCs, and to the perpetuation of an

unjust economic order (Raffert 1987). In this context, local elites, often the only ones with sufficient education and political voice, propagate the need for development and modernization, as well as for the enhancement of related forms of manpower training (Torres, 1990).

Although supporters of the dependency perspective readily admit that Third World education suffers from all the weaknesses identified by proponents of the modernization paradigm, that is, non-attendance, high drop-out rates, irrelevancy, non-practicality / non-productivity, and obsolescence, they generally attribute such weakness to colonial inheritance and the unjust economic order afflicting LDCs. In their opinion, the existing educational systems are direct descendants of the old colonial educational apparatuses and , as such, exhibit all their inherent shortcomings and deficiencies (Alladin, 1984; Bacchus, 1975; and Carnoy, 1974). This opinion is supported by the fact that, after political independence, LDCs' governments for reasons ranging from expediency, habit, continuity, international recognition, to lack of creativity, customarily retained the educational apparatuses of the old colonial power (Bilbao, 1980). As mentioned by Todaro in the context of such retention, "little thought or effort was given to questions of how this mode of academic organization would serve existing Third World conditions and problems" (1986, p. 299).

These apparatuses were established and maintained by colonial powers with two main purposes in mind: (a) to train local civil servants instead of importing expatriates from centres in the metropole (European colonial powers), and (b) to respond to early local demands for education, first articulated by emerging local elites (Carnoy, 1974). So,

aside from being the product of a bygone era, and therefore understandably obsolescent, the education made available by such systems was never intended to promote social, political, or economic advancement. On the contrary, it was designed as a tool to produce low-level civil servants conscious of their subaltern status in comparison to members of the expatriate bureaucracy, and as a placebo to pacify local elites' aspirations and keep them in their appropriate place (Carnoy, 1974). Now, as then, formal education still fulfils primarily its social discrimination and allocation purposes (La Belle, 1975, 1986; Todaro, 1986; and Torres, 1990). As a planned consequence, "the unschooled masses silently witness the events which surround and affect them but in which they can play only the most limited role" (Burns, 1977, p. 143). The existing sort of education is, therefore, little suited to modern development, progress, (Gomez-Pereira *et al,* 1986) democratization, and international competition against nations with a long history of development, democracy, and educational innovation.

Although advocates of the dependency paradigm articulate the need to change education, they certainly do not espouse the recommendations of modernization proponents. First, they perceive the sort of education exported to LDCs by DCs' experts to be imposed via the foreign assistance chain; devised abroad by foreigners operating in different social, political, and cultural environments and, as a result,

> much of the technical advice which is given is irrelevant, and possibly even dangerous to the recipient. Advisors do not generally have a broad understanding of the host country. Often they try to devise curricula ... on the basis of their experience at home. In education, it is unlikely that there is much that a foreign advisor can bring

> to a developing country that might not just as effectively be contributed by a native who has had foreign experience or who has studied his subject in a comparative context (Altbach, 1971, p. 8).

Second, due to imposition from above, changes are rarely participatory. Most decisions are taken by representatives of international agencies and members of local elites, none of which has first-hand knowledge of the realities their projects are supposed to address.

Third, foreign-devised education does not respond to the needs and realities of most Third World nations, for it customarily relies too extensively on technological, and therefore costly, approaches to problem-solving. DCs' solutions are usually aimed at increasing efficiency via labour-reduction, albeit with a perceptible increase in technological cost. LDCs, with their ample supply of inexpensive labour, should instead aim at cost reduction via increased labour (Todaro, 1986).

Fourth, the forms of education proposed (generally consisting, today, of technical, vocational, informal, non-formal, and pre-vocational education) do not receive the appropriate level of recognition in most developing societies. Traditionally, what the public wants is formal academic education, the form that is the least contributory to economic development, but which yielded, historically, great social power and status to colonists and members of the indigenous elites. As mentioned by Bacchus, in his 1975 study of education in British Guyana

> popular preference for the classics or the humanities in secondary education was quite a rational strategy in education decision-making by parents and students. While the relevance of this

> type of education to the broad economic and social needs of the country was doubtful, the private rate of return which individuals received from such an education -- both economic and psychic -- was great and this was why there was so much popular demand for it (p. 40)

Consequently, forms of education advocated by proponents of the modernization paradigm fall short of attracting clients and promoting social mobility. They are perceived by those they are deemed to serve as tools to further discriminate via a multiple-tiered educational system that maintains and legitimizes the social status-quo, and effectively institutionalizes class differences (Alladin, 1984).

Fifth, such programs, in addition to their intrinsic unpopularity, are poorly advertized by local governments and agencies (Jackson, 1987), and are not matched or complemented by the creation of related occupational opportunities (Alladin, 1984). As a result, those few who, despite all the concerns mentioned above, complete such programs, customarily find themselves unemployed or underemployed.

In essence, then, proponents of the dependency paradigm view underdevelopment in a broader context than that presented in the modernization paradigm. For dependency advocates, development must be considered against a background of historical and contemporary realities, in relationship with internal / national and external / international factors, and in a scope transcending the mere economic aspects of the question. Basic to the dependency perspective is the notion that, contrary to what is held to be true by modernization proponents, development cannot occur without fundamental changes in international or macro-economic and power relations (Raffert, 1987). Deep structural

modifications to LDCs societies are required where similar, parallel, and related economic and power imbalances exist at the national or micro level. Furthermore, dependency supporters view most forms of international assistance as tools used by DCs' governments and agencies to subtly encroach on LDCs' affairs and perpetuate, under the umbrella of aid, what they had already started during the classical colonial era.

In the remaining chapters the concepts of aid and development, and many of their aspects, briefly highlighted and presented here, will be further investigated and discussed with special emphasis placed on the region of focus (see p.5, Figure 1).

CHAPTER III
UNDERDEVELOPMENT, TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND MODERNIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Preamble

Chapter III, which deals with content-specific aspects of this study, presents the reader with a partial response to research questions #1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. As such, it focuses on the meaning of, and need and urgency for modernization and modern development. It considers developmental and educational strategies recommended over the last two or three decades by individuals and groups espousing the traditionalist perspective. This chapter offers a natural continuation to, and expansion of the "The Traditional / Modernization Development Paradigm" section introduced in Chapter II, thereby more fully exposing the reader to one of the two major schools of development discussed in this thesis, with special emphasis being placed on the region under study. For the reader's convenience, Chapter III is organized in small sections identified by sub-headings highlighting their content as it relates to the research questions. In the context of such organization, this chapter is broadly divided in sections dealing with a presentation of historical roots and reasons for underdevelopment, a discussion of the current level of industry and entrepreneurship in the region, a discussion of local education, a discussion of the roles of traditional foreign assistance in the area, a closer look at educational aid, mention of the expected benefits of educational assistance, and a word about assessing aid's results. As Chapter III unfolds, each section is further divided to accommodate appropriate discussion of its own components.

Focussing on Spanish South America

As seen in Chapters I and II, traditional developmentalists comprise those individuals and agencies, in DCs and LDCs alike, customarily expressing the formal views of international organizations and governments. Their perspective is usually grounded in the modernization paradigm introduced earlier (although rarely referred-to, today, explicitly as such), and invariably accompanied by efforts to create a skilled labour force for modern industrial sectors of national economies.

In the region of focus, as elsewhere in the Third World, the lack of desirable economic development and industrialization is perceived by traditional developmentalists to be a considerable handicap, and one that likely will never be solved without foreign assistance.

> Although, overall, the economy of Latin America in the past twenty-years expanded at a considerably higher rate than that of the industrialized countries and that difference gradually became more pronounced, the gap between the per capita product of the two areas widened both in absolute and in relative terms ... the difference in absolute terms between the per capita product of the industrialized countries and that in the Latin American countries virtually doubled in that twenty-year period ... these data clearly illustrate the imperative need for the Latin American countries to pursue their development efforts more energetically than in the past and to continue to have increasing and stable access to external financing and economic cooperation (Inter-American Development Bank, 1984, p. 11)

Despite achieving political independence in the 1820's, nations in the region are increasingly falling behind the economic achievements exhibited by DCs, as reflected by

the respective GNPs appearing in Table 2. In a frantic attempt to bridge the ever-widening gap existing between them and the First World, the region of focus has tried to apply traditional development strategies to remedy the numerous ills afflicting their economies.

Pivotal to achieving successful modernization is the acquisition of some desirable western characteristics such as the increase in a nation's degree of industrialization and level of skills of the workforce. Also pivotal to success is a change in values and attitudes towards individual and societal efficiency. In all of theses areas education plays an essential role.

Table 2

Latin American and Industrialized Countries GNP, 1960 to 1979

Year	Latin America	Industrialized countries
1960	167	2,956
1970	288	4,860
1975	395	5,623
1978	453	6,361
1979	478	6,581

(GNP expressed in billions of dollars at 1980 prices)

Note: Source -- Industrial countries and developing countries: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, World Economic and Social Indicators, October 1980. Latin America: Inter-American Development Bank, based on official statistics of the

member countries.

Roots of South American Underdevelopment

It seems fitting, in order to provide an appropriate conceptual framework, to open this section with Carlos Fuentes' vivid and accurate comparison between the two Americas, and between the societies they have fostered throughout their respective historical evolutions. In his words,

> The *gringos* are founded on the parsimony of the Protestant work ethic. We, in Latin America, on autocratic dispensation and baroque prodigality. North Americans save. We squander. North Americans peer at their ledgers through the spectacles of Ben Franklin. We spend our wealth on ceremonies, altars, and cemeteries, like Philip II of Spain. The United States has practiced horizontal and extensive decentralization of power. Latin America has suffered its absolutist, pyramidal and centralized oppressions. The North belongs to the tradition of the customary, unwritten law -- the Common Law. The South, to the Roman legal tradition, in which nothing exists unless it is written. (1985, p. 10).

The Absence of Puritan Ethic

In their discussion of factors contributing to the state of underdevelopment in the region, traditional developmentalists attribute a significant and detrimental role to the original Catholic hispanic culture introduced in the region during the colonial era. In their opinion, it did not provide a suitable climate for economic development and entrepreneurship to emerge and flourish, a climate indispensable for industrialization and progress (Baechler, 1976; Martin, 1983; and Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1986). Central to this argument, is a comparison between local nations (of hispanic heritage) and certain DCs chosen by leading theoreticians and scholars of the North as referential basis. In such

comparison, S. M. Lipset explains, in a truly weberian manner, the differences existing between North and South on the ground that

> The overseas offspring of Great Britain seemingly had the advantage of values derivative in part from the Protestant Ethic and from the formation of "New Societies" in which feudal ascriptive elements were missing. Since Latin America, on the other hand, is Catholic, it has been dominated for long centuries by ruling elites who created a social structure congruent with feudal social values. (1986, p. 39)

In the traditional view, then, Britain and the United States became the epitome of industrialization, modernization and development. They both shared the so-called Puritan work ethic, the all-important orientation that historically led to the rise of capitalism in developed countries in the First World. For Calvinists, indeed, "deliverance ... was work" (Tawney, 1987, p. 117) and "such teaching, whatever its theological merits or defects, was admirably designed to liberate economic energy" (Ibid, p. 119).

Not only did this orientation stimulate the early economic development of northern Europe (and later of North America), but it also forged the necessary financial base from which modern capitalism eventually emerged and grew strong (Baechler, 1976; Martin, 1983; and Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1986). In time, new capitalist entrepreneurs of the North, facing greater consumer demand and an expansion of their markets, devised production strategies to become more efficient and maximize their profits (Maddison, 1986). Among these strategies, improvement of labour training, acquisition of new skills, and the creation of new epistemologies occupied noticeable pre-eminence (Hobsbawn, 1975; and Penfentenyo, 1981). In the climate of early DCs' development, not only did the

religious and philosophical climates prepare the scene for efficient performance, but an inherent propensity to do a better job, to work more efficiently and maximize output emerged, further orienting the entire society in a forward manner (McClelland, 1967, 1969).

Paleo-capitalism in the Iberian Peninsula

In Latin America, on the other hand, capitalism evolved in a thoroughly different fashion (Burns, 1977; Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Furtado, 1970). This different evolution is closely related to the nature of the colonial powers dominating the hemisphere. These powers -- comprising the Iberian Peninsula -- consisted of Spain and Portugal. At the time of early capitalist development in northern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula was, by all accounts, far from undergoing the major economic changes occurring elsewhere in the Old World (Baechler, 1976; Martin, 1983; and Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1986). As summarized by Cardoso & Helwege, in their discussion of the Iberian Peninsula and its Latin American colonies, "Spain and Portugal were slow to industrialize, and Latin America remained on the periphery as Industrial Revolution took off" (1992, p. 5).

Spain still entertained the memory of the moorish reconquest, and the Crown was more concerned with successfully administering its vice-royalties rather than taking entrepreneurial risks like contemporary Britons, and other Anglo-Saxons. Indeed, in the Spain of the period, financial dealings were often left to individuals of sephardic or mudejar origins, and viewed with considerable disdain by others (Swift, 1978). Spaniards of means preferred investing their fortune in the acquisition of land and in the building of

large agricultural domains (forerunners of the Latin American *latifundia* discussed elsewhere in this study). In other words, "compared with other regions of Europe, commercial capitalism ... made a belated appearance in the Iberian Peninsula" (Furtado, 1970, p. 8).

Hispanic Entrepreneurship in America

Understandably, a duplicate of the Spanish entrepreneurial structure could be found early on in Latin America, where it had been essentially transplanted without modification by representatives of the Crown or those in their employ (Burns, 1977; and Cardoso & Helwege, 1992). This entrepreneurial system was based on relatively "safe" commercial undertakings, such as mining and land accumulation effected through expropriation, speculation, or royal ordinance (Weaver, 1980). In such context, "Almost no effort was made to have the colonies serve to further the industrial development of Spain. Thus the political as well as the economic structure that developed in Latin America was counterproductive to growth" (Swift, 1978, p. 45).

Therefore, in Latin America, as in the old Spanish economy, capital and resource accumulation occurred with little entrepreneurial initiative, within the narrow scope of natural resources exploitation (Fajnzylber, 1990). They relied largely on an unpaid or poorly paid labour force (Taussig, 1991), or a process of land acquisition that favoured those already belonging to the class of *terratenientes*. This resulted in the creation of huge *haciendas* (Galeano, 1973). In such a climate few models of modern entrepreneurship existed. Past values and attitudes were encouraged and new skills were not required. The need to become more efficient did not arise since competition and risk-

taking, in the capitalist sense of the words, were never significant parts of any financial equation (Weaver, 1980). As Galeano mentions with reference to Argentina,

> latifundistas show no interest in technical innovations. Productivity is low because it suits them; the law of profit prevails over all others. Extending estates by buying new acreage is more remunerative and less risky than applying modern intensive techniques. (1973, p. 143)

Land Tenure

As was the case in Spain during the period, Latin Americans of means accumulated large tracts of land, so large, in fact, that the majority remained uncultivated and unproductive (Burns, 1977; Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Galeano, 1973). This system was established very early in the region by land grants to trusted and deserving Spaniards and Creoles, for, indeed, even "after the Wars of Independence against Spain in the 1820's, Simon Bolivar and the other *libertadores*, much like the *conquistadores* three centuries before them, had to reward their armies from generals to privates, with land" (Fuentes, 1985, p. 27)

Land tenure and the authority and prestige attached to it, were further reinforced under the *encomienda* system (Weaver , 1980). Under this system, landed *encomenderos* (typically wealthy and trusted land-owners of direct Spanish extraction), were granted, in addition to more land, the custody of the indigenous populations dwelling on it for the purpose of christianizing them and introducing them to the benefits of working (Burns, 1977; Galeano. 1973; and Swift, 1978). In the region, therefore, "the ownership of land became the basis of a system of social domination of the mass of people by a small ethnically and culturally differentiated minority. External economic contacts were limited,

and social contact with the outside world was confined to the ruling class" (Furtado, 1970, p. 15)

Under the *encomienda* system, land owners exercised a centralized and near-feudal authority on their vast domains, reaping the fruits of poorly organized abusive labour practices, of which local indians and black slaves were the victims. As mentioned by Michael Taussig, describing colonial labour conditions in the Putumayo region of Colombia,

> In the colonies, labour was rarely detachable from the being of the worker. Labour was not turned into a commodity as in the industrial heartlands of the imperial powers. Instead of a proletariat "free" to offer its services on a labour market there existed a wide range of servitudes from slavery to debt-peonage and refinements on feudal-like paternalism (1991, p.94)

Since very little governmental authority could be exercised in remote rural areas, *encomenderos* had a free hand in all aspect of life on rural properties (Weaver, 1980). Although the *encomienda* system was officially abolished in the eighteen century by the Spanish Crown, practices associated with it, and specifically those related to the labour force and ruling rural estates, lasted well until after World War II (Burns, 1977; and Galeano, 1973), and in some cases, can still be seen today by keen observers (Stavenhagen, 1973).

Brief Overview of the Political Evolution in the Region of Focus since Independence

The independence and post-independence eras were marked, in the region, by the frustration of the many hopes entertained by the masses previous to, and during the Wars of Independence. Social inequalities and the polarization that had existed for three

hundred years under the Spanish colonial system were reinforced (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Crow, 1992). For, as noted by Burns in his discussion of the conflicts of independence in Latin America,

> The protracted struggle elevated to power a small, privileged elite who, with few exceptions, had enjoyed many benefits from the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems and reaped even larger rewards during the early decades of nationhood. (1977, p. 88)

This situation can be largely attributed to the fact that revolution in Spanish America was not, as it was the case in the French and American revolutions, the product of a mass desire for freedom. Although this desire certainly existed, it was not clearly articulated, nor was it supported by the demands of a nascent commercial bourgeoisie for enhanced flexibility in trade and entrepreneurship (Burns, 1977).

On the contrary, revolution came to Latin America as a result of Creole and Mestizo elites' desire to replace Spanish domination of the region with one of their own. As explained by Weaver,

> ... the wars of independence were not waged by working classes against nonworkers; rather they were conflicts between two strata of the nonproducing class. The predominant force in the independence movements was the American-born Spaniards (*criollos*) who controlled most of the productive resources, principally land and labour power. Thus the relationship central for understanding the independence movement is between the *criollos*, on the one hand, and the Spanish colonial system ... (1980, p. 61)

Although the masses often participated in military engagements, it was merely as plentiful and conveniently-available canon-fodder. Decisions and benefits rested almost exclusively in the hands of local elites, and in those of foreign governments supporting the

rebel cause to displace Spain from its historically dominant position. The ulterior motive of these foreign governments was to forge new commercial ties with the region (Galeano, 1973).

Without a tradition of parliamentary governance and in the absence of effective means to control recently freed territories, the new nations found it an increasingly insurmountable task to select, elect, and maintain the democratic governments they had hoped for while under Spanish domination or engaged in wars. As pointed out by Weaver, "The convulsions did not come to an end with the overthrow of Spanish control, however; for years thereafter, elites in the newly independent areas struggled to create viable political institutions to replace the colonial apparatus" (1980, p. 59)

Members of the local landed gentry, and/or of the military repeatedly vied to take power and overthrow those in government. Winners usually ruled in a manner very similar, if not identical, to those used by the Spanish colonial administration (Burns, 1977). This cycle of power-taking, *coups d' état*, and oppressive regimes, occasionally punctuated by the ephemeral appearance of salient and capable political figures, accounts for the legendary and worldwide reputation of Latin American countries for *la revolución*, and *el caudillismo* (form of political regime under a strong, and often self-appointed, authoritarian leader).

In the later part of the nineteenth century, a new form of regime appeared on the scene as an alternative to the authoritarian rule of *caudillos*. This form, which is still present today, in countries like Argentina, is the *populista* government (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Weaver, 1980). Being a government under the rule of a president

chosen via electoral process and enjoying considerable popular support, populism "stresses charismatic leadership and cross-class alliance" (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992, p. 207). This popular support is customarily gained by making broad promises and rhetorical statements appealing to the masses without threatening in any way the many social privileges enjoyed by powerful social classes tolerating *populistas* regimes (Burns, 1977; Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Weaver, 1980).

Since achieving political independence in the 1820's, Latin American nations have largely alternated between the *caudillista* and *populista* types of governments. Political independence, therefore, did not bring to the region true democracy and the blessings many had expected (Bolivar, 1988). Indeed, as mentioned by Swift, independence "was more the overthrow of one aristocratic class by another. For this reason there were no real structural changes in ... South America following independence" (1978, p.51). Historically, then, the region has traded Spanish rule for (a) similar forms of domination under overt elite rule, or (b) governments appealing to the people, but having little or no transformational powers. Such political stagnation has had a profound impact on all aspects of life in the affected countries (Burns, 1977; Cardoso & Helwege, 1992), from social emancipation and participation, to education and economic development.

Commercial Ventures Based on Agriculture

As a direct result of the *latifundia / hacienda* system, post-independence commercial ventures in the region were characterized by reliance on the old colonial agricultural exploitation model (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992). In a markedly inefficient manner, large tracts of land were cultivated for the production of mono- or cash-crops

which could bring high, albeit ephemeral, returns from trade with the metropole. This form of trade was based exclusively on supplying whatever primary commodity or resource that was needed, at a particular moment, by nations of the North. As pointed out by Bradford Burns in his discussion of early Latin American economic stagnation:

> ... nations of Latin America with their abundant natural wealth and limited industries were pressed into a working relationship with the burgeoning capitalist centres: they exported the raw materials required in Europe and the United States ... In catering to the caprices of an unpredictable market, the Latin Americans encouraged the growth of a reflex economy, little different, except perhaps more hazardous than the previous colonial economy. External factors, over which Latin Americans had little or no influence, determined whether the economies prospered or collapsed. (1977, p. 111)

Over the decades, in such context, *haciendas* were converted to produce rubber, cacao, tea, coffee, meat, leather, etc. Production always relied heavily on the ineffective use of land and the ready availability of ample and cheap labour (Taussig, 1991), never on diversification, innovation, modernization, or technology. These tendencies have had a considerable detrimental impact on the region of focus, for, in addition to seriously affecting all forms of agriculture and cattle farming, they were also transferred, with little or no change, to other sectors of the economies, such as entrepreneurship and industry (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992).

Entrepreneurship and Industry in the Region

Sociological Tendencies in Latin America

As explained by Lipset, who draws heavily from Weber and Parsons,

A society's value system may emphasize that a person in his

> orientation to others treats them in terms of their abilities and performances (achievement) or in terms of inherited qualities (ascription); applies a general standard (universalism) or responds to some personal attribute or relationship (particularism); deals with them in terms of the specific positions which they happen to occupy (specificity) or in general terms as individual members of the collectivity (diffuseness). (1986, p. 41)

According to prominent modernization sociologists, northern entrepreneurs (European and North American) exposed to Calvinism, early capitalism, and progressive ideas, have developed characteristics which contribute to modernization and economic and social development. These characteristics are generally absent in Latin Americans, seemingly placing them in a comparatively weak position regarding modernization and economic progress. These characteristics are customarily expressed in terms of the variables used above by Seymour Martin Lipset, and proposed by Talcott Parsons (1956, 1966). These variables are presented in a comparative manner for both North and Latin America, in Table 3.

Table 3

Sociological variables

North America	Latin America
Achievement	Ascription
Universalism	Particularism
Specificity	Diffuseness

> With its mentioned characteristics, the Latin American system tends to be focused around kinship and local community and to de-emphasize the need for powerful and legitimate larger centres of authority such as the state. Given a weak achievement orientation, such system sees work as a necessary evil. Morality converges around the traditionalistic acceptance of received standards of arrangements. There is an emphasis on expressive rather than instrumental behaviour.... Such systems also tend to emphasize diffuseness and elitism. The status conferred by one position tends to be accorded in all situations. Thus if one plays one elite role, he is respected generally. (Lipset, 1986, p. 43)

This system influences all aspects of Latin American life, and particularly politics, education, business, and industry. Consequently, it is extremely difficult to select the best talents for a given position (McClelland, 1967, 1969) or to take the most rational decision when confronted with a serious problem. The factors perceived to be of more considerable importance such as friendship, family ties, geographical origins, political affiliation, ethnic origins, etc. customarily sway the decision in a direction that is not, in a broader context, the most advantageous to the country, organization, or business (Hurabielle, 1990, 1991). This state of affairs is clearly recognized and articulated by Solari, who, discussing the problem in the context of the Uruguayan society, mentions that

> It is well known that the prevailing system of selection for government employees is based on kinship, on membership in a certain club or political faction, on friendship, etc. These are all particularistic criteria. A similar phenomenon is present in private enterprise, where selection of personnel on the basis of particularistic relations is very common. The use of universal criteria, such as the use of standardized examinations, is exceptional. Quite frequently when such universalistic criteria seem operative, they are applied to candidates who have been previously selected on the basis of personal relationships. (1964, p. 162)

It is quite reasonable, therefore, to suspect that these characteristic approaches to

decision-making and problem-solving have dire consequences for those who practice them. The diametrically opposed orientations of the North possibly account for the higher economic development it experiences.

Industrial Entrepreneurship Based on the Agricultural Model

Two groups of entrepreneurs emerged in early capitalism in the region. The first consisted of a relatively well-educated, urbanized, emerging middle-class aware of developments occurring elsewhere in the world, and wanting to take an active part in effecting in their countries changes similar to those undergone by the metropole. The second, which lagged somewhat in expressing interest in capitalist ventures, was the landed class, a class of considerable financial means, political power, and social status (Burns, 1977; and Crow, 1992).

In a relatively short time, the two groups merged into one. This merging was due to a variety of factors, such as marriages between daughters of the landed gentry and urbanized men seeking an alliance with the traditional elite, or land-owners seeking the advice and guidance of more progressive associates in the capitals (Burns, 1977). Nevertheless, regardless of the specific process which brought the two classes together, it acted in a relatively negative manner. It resulted in the consolidation of orientations and practices that originated in feudal land tenure systems, *encomienda / hacienda* management, and obsolescent mono-agriculture. These orientations and practices were then transferred to, and incorporated into the nascent industrialism in the region (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Furtado, 1970).

Consequently, local industry exhibited (and still does in many instances) the

hallmarks of inadequacy. These marks are: poor use of resources; lack of creativity (Fajnzylber, 1990); centralized authoritarian management -- even in the face of poor performance (Hurabielle, 1990); and little propensity for power-delegation (Parsons 1956, 1966; and McClelland 1967, 1969). In addition, it is common for the industry to rely on the use of a large pool of poorly qualified manpower, especially at the mid-level of the occupational structure; antiquated practices, processes, and procedures; and to practice avoidance of new approaches perceived to be unfamiliar or risky (Fajnzylber, 1990).

Local Investment of Capital in the Region

A discussion of capital investment in the region unavoidably involves the attitudes, tastes, socio-political orientation, and consumption patterns of the financial elites. They are the only ones in the region who have capital; they belong to the landowning and industrial groups mentioned above. In light of their general tendencies as consumers, and their inherent propensity for exercising an exceedingly high degree of caution in business dealings, it is congruent for them to be reserved in their investment. As such, the typical Latin American pattern of investment has an outward orientation (Swift, 1978). Furtado, recognizing the historical aspect of such practice, notes that, early on

> Unlike the feudal lord, who extracted a surplus from the population under his control which was used in one way or another in the same region, the Spaniard who undertook the conquest or received an *encomienda* was mainly concerned to appropriate a surplus which could be transferred to Europe. Either because he was accustomed to forms of consumption which could be satisfied only by imports from Europe, or because his ultimate aim in embarking on the American adventure was to achieve a coveted economic and social position in Spain, the *encomendero* was not interested in a surplus which could only be used locally (1970, p. 11)

Generations have passed since the period to which Furtado refers, but, today as yesterday, capital, instead of being invested in the region to promote industry and development, as was the practice in early capitalist Europe, is systematically drained away from the region to be invested, via a variety of channels, in advanced industrialized countries. Table 4 illustrates the magnitude of this problem, by providing, for countries in the region, capital-flight figures (*in millions of US dollars*) for the period from 1973 to 1987.

Table 4

Capital Flight, Latin American Region, 1973--1987

Country	Capital flight
Argentina	29, 469
Colombia	1,913
Peru	2,599
Uruguay	83
Venezuela	38,815

Note: Source -- M. Pastor, "Capital Flight from Latin America", World Development 18 (January 1990), pp. 1-18.

This outward capital flow is effected by investing in savings accounts held in foreign banks, by buying properties abroad, by sending offspring to be educated in Europe or in the United States, or by buying shares in DCs' industries. In addition to this

characteristic financial pattern, whatever little capital stays in the region is customarily spent on glamorous pursuits, such as building monuments, or duplicating the lifestyle of North Americas' "rich and famous", instead of being invested for further capital-generating ventures. Indeed,

> In Latin America, the desire to reproduce the United States lifestyle, in that part of the income pyramid that is able to pay the prices of the various goods, has prevailed over the objectives of articulation at the national level and of securing a good position at the international level. (Fajnzylber, 1990, p. 20)

Research and Development

Because of its weak industrial position and a limited investment of local capital, the region is being left behind economically. Contributing to this trend is the dearth of local research and development and the modicum of current knowledge. It is well known, internationally, that

> Latin America still has an extremely weak presence at the world level in generating and using knowledge. The region's contribution to the world total declines as the intellectual value added to the different variables increases. The situation is particularly serious with respect to resources allocated for research and development ... (ECLAC, 1992, p. 61)

A contemporary trend, in DCs, is the rapid shift towards the creation and use of advanced technology in industry. This requires little manpower, consumes less raw resources, allows twenty-four hour workdays, permits quick reorientation of focus, facilitates international integration, and is flexible enough to conveniently relocate as labour force conditions and available resources dictate (Cetron & Davies, 1991; and Toffler & Toffler,

1991). However, against this global background, a salient feature of Latin America

> ... has been its inadequate adoption of technical progress, and its scanty contribution to original thinking based on the true situation in order to define the range of decisions involved in economic and social change. ... this is partly due to the origin of Latin American societies, their institutional structures, their cultural context and a set of economic and structural factors which have a complex but undisputable bearing on the social and political environment. (Fajnzylber, 1990, p. 14)

Of urgent importance, then, is a shift in emphasis, this in conjunction with a change in government policies and programmes to more closely reflect global trends.

Loss of Local Talents

Compounding the lack of investment in research and development, and the associated lack of new knowledge, local nations, like most areas in the Third World, suffer from two different but related phenomena which prevent them from benefiting, on their journey towards development, from the contribution of their most talented nationals (Altbach,1971). The two phenomena in question are (1) brain-drain: talented individuals are lured by greater challenges and better opportunities in DCs, (2) outward-orientation: talented individuals remain at home but concentrate their efforts in foreign research in the hope of receiving recognition from DCs (Todaro, 1986).

Local Education

Brief Historical Overview

In pre-colombian America, systematic and organized education was practically limited to three forms: the first pertaining to religion, writing, astronomy, and mathematics (all the preserve of those associated with cults and religious pursuits of the period); the

second dealing with military activities of large empires (such as those undertaken by the Incas). Later, a third, and more geographically limited form appeared in certain parts of the region, and focused on the dissemination of dominant languages (such as Quechua) among conquered populations (Bilbao, 1980).

With Spanish colonization, however, came the introduction of true systematic and organized education. Education during this period was monopolized by the Catholic Church, and was two-fold: (a) it dealt with the christianization of local indigenous populations, and (b) it catered to the intellectual needs of exiles by establishing the first schools in the region. During the early stages of colonization education was very selective and carefully tailored in accordance to the social class of the recipient (Bilbao, 1980; and Merani, 1983). Typically, in these early schools, the curriculum covered materials such as reading, writing, and basic arithmetic, drawing, music, as well as some introductory notions to trades (knowledge and skills necessary to satisfy the needs of the ruling class). Indigenous populations had access to very limited training in catechism, Spanish, and rudimentary agricultural practices, while members of the elites customarily received lessons at home from private tutors, or in convents and monasteries, lessons which exposed them to curricula used in Spain at the time (Bilbao, 1980). Considering the times and the prevailing philosophical tendencies of contemporary Spain, such curricula were near-medieval and extremely classical in nature and orientation.

In the post-independence period, and until well into the twentieth century, little change took place in systematic, organized education. The best education was still in the hands of the clergy and accessible only to a few. Educational changes, such as those

proposed by Sarmiento in Argentina, were the rare exception rather than the rule, as noted by Merani,

> In its concrete Latin American aspect, compulsory, free, laic education was never successful outside of Sarmiento's school, and, even then, only within many restrictions that the law of common education then in place was unable to overcome. (1983, p. 129)[1]

Educational systems in the region were only somewhat reinforced by creating additional schools at different levels. Efforts aimed at providing free, compulsory, laic education for all, had resulted in the proliferation of mediocre establishments falling considerably short from serving those for whom they were initially intended. The status-quo in education, during the era in question, reflected and matched the profound lack of modification in Latin American socio-economic systems. As explained by Bilbao in referring to Ecuador, "during this period no significant transformation occurred in the educational system, because the socio-economic structure kept essentially the characteristics it had during the colonial era" (1980, p. 71)[2]. Such, then, was generally the state of education in the region at a time when countless sweeping educational reforms had already taken place in most countries of northern Europe and in North America.

Shortcomings of Current Local Education

Considering the great value placed on human capital to develop, modernize, and industrialize successfully, local education seems to offer little hope, for it "exhibits today the same broad characteristics as 100 years ago" (Brock, 1985, p. 7), characteristics alluded-to above. Common contemporary objections about educational systems in the region focus on high drop-out / poor attendance / exclusion rates, lack of relevancy,

absence of practicality and production-orientation, obsolescence of curricula, quasi-absence of training for middle careers, insufficient level of funding, poor quality of teachers and educational administrators, and undesirable educational policies at all levels (ECLAC, 1992).

Exclusion, Drop-out and Poor Attendance

Exclusion, drop-out and attendance rates are alarming indicators of the state of schooling as it presently exists in the discussed region. This phenomenon, although perceptible in urban centres, is even more dire in rural areas where parents are of very modest financial means, and have not been exposed to much education themselves (if any at all). Families do not perceive any advantage for sending their children to school to learn skills of little local relevancy; the potential return of a child's labour is more than what a household can forego. With the sole purpose of illustrating the seriousness of such a situation, and using Ecuador as a concrete example (urban and rural areas considered together), Table 5 presents in a concise manner, data *(expressed in percent)* provided by Bilbao (1980, pp.75-85).

Congruent figures are provided by other authors for other areas in the region. They support those figures given for Ecuador (Gimeno Blat, 1983; ECLAC, 1992; Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986; and Corvalán-Vasquez, 1980 -- among many).

Table 5

Exclusion, drop-out, and attendance rates

Level	Excluded %	Drop-out %	Attendance %
Pre-elementary	97.1	Not available	2.9
Elementary	29	20	71
Secondary	88.4	20	11.6
Post-secondary	98	Not available	2

Orientation of Local Education

Education, in the area under discussion, reflects the existing state of local entrepreneurship and industry and, as such, is more theoretical and contemplative than practical and production-oriented (ECLAC, 1992). Consequently, graduates at all levels have a marked tendency of falling short of employer's expectations -- shortcoming generally requiring remedial on-the-job training, a costly alternative for nascent industry in financially poor nations (Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986). In addition, the most popular careers, especially in the tertiary system, are not of the sort that contribute to the economic advancement of developing countries (Torres, 1990). Student enrolment as observed in traditional faculties such as law, still surpasses many times that in modern disciplines like engineering, tropical medicine, or agriculture. This undesirable situation is accurately described by Prieto-Figueroa as follows:

> students ... prefer traditional professions because of the prestige they enjoy in our environment. On the other hand, Mechanical, Electrical, and Chemical Engineering,

> Agronomy, Veterinary Science -- more necessary for economic development – attract few clients; in fact, in many universities of the continent, they are not even studied. (1980, p. 23)[3]

This trend is understandable since prestige, social status, financial reward, and political power have always been associated with academic / classical education which duplicates formal European humanities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries In addition, "The pejorative meaning of 'technical' can be explained by the rather common underestimation of the role of technical processes in human life" (Reisig, 1974, p. 23)[4]. This lack of socialization of science and technology has been pointed out by Amadeo, who stated that, in Latin America, "the intrinsic value of science and technology as an expression of human culture ... has only been precariously internalized" (1979, p. 158). Therefore, the propensity to enroll in academic studies and go to great lengths to avoid technological, technical, or vocational forms of training, will likely continue if the status and reward associated with these modern careers and fields of study are not suitably and positively adjusted (Prieto-Figueroa, 1980).

Characteristics of the Curriculum

The obsolescence of local curricula, at all levels, is also reported by those espousing traditional development and modernization. The argument here is that the curriculum has not kept pace with global realities and related local needs, and "is characterized by obsolescence, fragmentation, and mismatching of schooling and the job market" (Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986, p. 20). The acuteness of this phenomenon is particularly noticeable in technical, technological, and scientific education. (ECLAC,

1992).

Obsolescence appears to be related to (a) a lack of forward-orientation of the industrial sector accounting for little innovation being required from the educational system (Fajnzylber, 1990); (b) questionable *quality* of teachers and administrators (more on this later), a fact accounting for the lack of intrinsic innovation within the affected systems (ECLAC, 1992); (c) poor parental, student, and public awareness or understanding, and support of newer approaches to education (Jackson, 1987); and (d) lack of adequate funding to effect perceptible and lasting modifications to the existing systems (Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986).

The Absence of Middle-Career and Its Impact on Educational Systems

A characteristic of the labour market impacting on local educational systems, and vice-versa, is the near-total absence of middle-careers (ECLAC, 1992). "An archaic educational system and the prestige associated with traditional professions have resulted in wage structures that place manual professions in an unfavourable position and have negative consequences for labour force qualification" (Buttari, 1979, p. 100). Employment markets in the region are, therefore, marked by a polarized distribution of labour where there is an "occupational gap between engineers and, far below them, a labour force ill-prepared to assume the middle-management responsibilities" (Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986, p. 17). This highly polarized labour structure relates, naturally, to the popular preference for academic education, the lack of suitable economic rewards and status / recognition given to socially less-prestigious forms of training, as well as to the absence of adequate strategies to generate occupational opportunities at the middle-level

(Jackson, 1987). In such a climate, individuals who can afford to complete school will not stop at the technologist or technician levels; rather they will pursue the highest possible degree they feel capable of acquiring (Torres, 1990).

Educational Budget and Systems Proliferation

Although considerable budgets (relative to national possibilities) have been allocated to ministries of education in the region, as illustrated by the figures presented in Table 6 (Brock, 1985; and Simmons, 1980), in practice local systems still suffer direly from insufficient funding (Reisig, 1974; and Todaro, 1986).

Pivotal in this context, is the fact that the larger part of education budgets go toward paying teachers and administrators' salaries; for instance, when the researcher worked in the region roughly ninety-five percent of the education budget was allocated to salaries and wages (Hurabielle, 1988, 1990, 1991). Such budget distribution leaves very little for maintenance, construction, equipment acquisition, purchase of supplies, training of teachers and administrators, and program or course development.

A state of uncontrolled proliferation of educational establishments in the region accounts largely for the imbalanced budgets mentioned above. More often than not, the creation of schools is related to political motives, such as pressures exercised by the local population for having their *own* schools, all motives directly related to electoral prospects rather than to actual local needs or sustainability of an educational establishment in a given area (ECLAC, 1992). In other words, the considerable expansion of educational systems " ... was directed in a very disorganized manner, and was generally aimed at satisfying the requirements of a spontaneous demand which, due to its characteristics, diverges

substantially from the needs of the nation ... " (Bilbao, 1980, p. 181)[5]. Such practices lead to situations where, occasionally, "there is an average of only four students per teacher" (Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986, p. 21), or to schools having more teachers than students. This proliferation of establishments can have, and usually has, dire consequences for nations of limited financial capabilities.

Quality of Personnel

Since teachers and administrators, themselves, are products of the educational systems which exhibit the shortcomings thus far mentioned, it is not surprising if their general quality is low (Bilbao, 1980; Brock, 1985; ECLAC, 1992; Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986; and Reisig, 1974). Appointments and promotions are frequently tied to sponsorship, connections, and nepotism, rather than merits, qualifications, experience, and dedication (Lipset, 1962, 1967, 1986; McClelland, 1967, 1969; and Parsons, 1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985). In addition, motivated and qualified individuals toiling for the benefit of their students often do so under less than satisfactory conditions (ECLAC, 1992).

Table 6

Education Spending in the Region

Country	1970	1979	1985
Argentina	11.1	11.3	8.5
Bolivia	32.3	32.1	19.8
Colombia	16.9	26.3	24.4
Ecuador	n.a.	37.1	24.5
Paraguay	13.9	14.1	12.2
Peru	21.4	15.3	16.1
Uruguay	15.8	13.4	8.4
Venezuela	16.2	20.3	18.6

Note: Source -- Inter-American Development Bank, Report on Economic and Social Progress in Latin America, 1988. All Figures are expressed in % of the total government budget.

Roles of Foreign Assistance

Exhibiting the above-described cultural, social, political, entrepreneurial, and educational features against a background of ever-increasing global competition, the region is perceived, by traditional developmentalists, to be at a serious disadvantage. This disadvantage is rooted in the lack of efficiency, successful modern entrepreneurs, modern knowledge (especially in sciences and technologies), sufficient capital, qualified

manpower, and suitable training programs and education. Therefore, as noted by the Inter-American Development Bank,

> The nations of Latin America will have the greater task in the process of adjusting the course of their development to the new conditions of the world economy. To carry out the enormous internal efforts required, Latin America will need the determined support and cooperation of the industrialized countries. This international cooperation, which has great possibilities of succeeding, will yield considerable benefits to all participants. (1981, p. 89)

Foreign assistance is perceived by traditionalists to be a powerful means to help Latin America develop in a manner similar to that of DCs in the past. In the context of assistance, activities undertaken by developmentalists run the whole gamut from medical assistance, to military training, to industry and agriculture, to science and technology, to educational aid (Todaro, 1986), some of which fall out of the spectrum of the present study. As mentioned in Chapter I, for reason of time, space, interest, and focus, the international assistance emphasized in this study is limited to educational aid.

International aid agencies and organizations, fully realizing the importance of giving nationals a leading role in assistance projects, stress the participation of qualified local representatives in all decision-making processes from start to finish. The high level of care customarily exercised by international agencies in this area is clearly illustrated in the following statement made by the Inter-American Development Bank,

> The most important feature distinguishing the Bank's work is that it constitutes a cooperative effort between lenders and borrowers in which the borrowing countries not only share fully in the capital stock but as well in the decision-making process, since the staff, at all levels, is largely drawn from Latin America. (1981, p. 1)

Foreign Assistance and Finance

Considering the lack of capital locally available or being invested in the region, foreign capital (as supplied by agencies, organizations, and foreign banks), is perceived, by traditional developmentalists, both in DCs and in the region, to be an indispensable *shot in the arm* for local industries. Such funds help the region to modernize and provide impetus to local economies by promoting and sustaining a desirable level of development. Financial assistance is very seldom, if ever, provided on open terms. Customarily, it takes the form of project-specific loan within a framework in which both loaning bodies and local governments have strict obligations towards each other; furthermore, these obligations follow rigid schedules. As mentioned by Francisco Vio Grossi, aid

> ... generally operates through projects. These are a set of activities oriented towards the satisfaction of the popular's sector needs. The project is also a document which states the activities and necessary resources to meet certain objectives within a definite period of time. ... [a project] is often very rigidly defined ... (Rydström, 1986, p.85)

Foreign Assistance, Industry, and Technology Transfer

Aside from supplying funds necessary to start, modify, or expand industry in the region, international assistance also makes available proven industrial models (models which have very successfully stood the test of time in DCs). It facilitates updating equipment (Proudfoot, 1988). It permits the acquisition of leading-edge technologies for, "technology transfers between developed and developing countries have traditionally been viewed as potentially valuable shortcuts to more rapid economic advance in the latter" (Cortes & Bocock, 1984). It provides guidance in matters concerning infrastructure. And

it assists local nations in selecting the most appropriate areas for concentrating their efforts related to economic growth, by "helping them formulate their requirements" (IDB, 1981, p.1). Here again, the concept of partnership between DCs' experts and local representatives is stressed in an attempt to make the entire assistance process relevant to local needs (as perceived by nationals), and congruent with the political, social, and cultural contexts in which it unfolds.

Foreign Assistance and Education

As can be expected, educational assistance plays a fundamental role in the context of most efforts aimed at enhancing economic development in the region (Middleton, 1991a, 1991b). As stressed by Coombs,

> ... one further feature of (development) strategy -- namely, international cooperation. We agree that every nation must be the master of its own educational destiny, and that it must largely support its own education system, however poor the nation may be. But ... we assert that no nation -- given the crisis conditions affecting all -- can successfully go it alone. International educational cooperation on a vastly extended scale must, therefore, be a cardinal feature of our educational strategy ... (1968, p. 23)

The importance of education is fourfold. First, since educational improvements accompanied the rise of DCs' economic development in the context of human capital creation (Harbison, 1973; Meier, 1978; and Schultz, 1963, 1981, 1989), it is safe to suspect that it will be instrumental in promoting the same sort and degree of development in the region . This view is expressed by ECLAC as one of the main goals of action for Latin America in the years to come:

> Among the many areas in which action is needed ... there is one whose development is a prerequisite for increasing competitiveness and social equity and which, moreover, promotes environmental sustainability: human resources training and dissemination of technical progress (1992, p. 34)

Second, as discussed earlier, local educational systems presently fall considerably short of satisfying the demands of entrepreneurship and industry in the geographical area (Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1986). Third, over and above needs generated by the mentioned shortcomings of education (especially in technical areas), the introduction of new practices and technologies produces related requirements thus far unknown (Cortes & Bocock, 1986). And fourth, certain forms of education can usher in new attitudes, values, beliefs and orientation, all of which, if carefully selected, can support the establishment and maintenance of a modern society (Lipset, 1986).

As summed-up in the final document of the Conference on Education and Economic-Social Development in Latin America,

> ... the role of education is primarily the development of human resources and the training of professionals and technicians deemed necessary for economic development. It stresses the influence education can have in the promotion of technological change through the production and diffusion of innovations. In addition, the importance of education is said to be the generation within social classes of new patterns of consumption, new patterns of entrepreneurial activity, a strong propensity to save money, the adaptation to economic change, and the promotion of the active participation of all the social sectors in the developmental task (Torres, 1990, p. 36)

In education, therefore, traditional developmentalists' recommendations are based, quite congruently, on the perception of the need for developing human capital, a resource they

consider indispensable for modern economic growth. As such, international educational aid efforts usually exhibit a high degree of practicality.

Educational Assistance

As mentioned by Phillips,

> The form taken by educational aid ... covers the following types of activity: providing a part or the whole of the salaries for teachers and educational experts (or expenses of volunteers from abroad); supplying scholarships and university places to students for study abroad; helping to building up particular educational institutions, such as universities, by providing both capital aid (buildings, equipment, etc.) and teaching staff and advisers; supplying loans and long-term credits for schools, buildings and equipment; contributing particular forms of expertise which may be lacking (e.g. in educational planning, curriculum development, etc.); capital aid in the form of loans or grants (1973, p. 33)

In this context, international educational aid has assumed, over the last three or four decades, a variety of aspects, which are related to priorities perceived at particular moments by foreign experts and local parties responsible for education and economic affairs. This aid has addressed diverse areas such as tertiary, secondary, and universal primary education, and literacy. As mentioned by the Inter-American Development Bank, in the past,

> ... lending and technical cooperation were oriented to higher education, natural sciences, public health, economics and business administration. Their purpose was to contribute to the development of high level personnel able to carry out the urgent tasks of economic development. (1981, p.10)

More recently, aid has focussed on more practical forms of education (ECLAC, 1992), forms leading to "the training of skilled and semi-skilled manpower for the

modernization of the economy" (Ducci, 1980, p. 6). Indeed, now emphasis is placed on the "financing of secondary and technical or vocational education to supply skilled personnel for supervision and technical activities in industry, agriculture, and commerce" (Inter American Development Bank 1981, p.10).

The contemporary forms most often encountered are. technical / vocational, non-formal, as well as adult education. Table 7 lists the alternatives commonly encountered, and provides brief explanations of their meanings in the region and elsewhere.

On Practical Education in the Region

In keeping with the practical nature of the training recommended, the forms of education referred to focus on avoiding shortcomings characterizing local formal education systems. As such, they stress relevancy of training to both local realities and developmental needs existing in the region (ECLAC, 1992; and Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1987). They are aimed at facilitating the rapid inclusion of graduates in the world of work via the provision of shorter career tracks (ECLAC, 1992; and Gomes-Pereira *et al*, 1987). They offer viable educational alternatives to prospective students who want to pursue some forms of upper- or post-secondary studies, but who do not want to go to the tertiary system (ECLAC, 1992). And they act, to a limited degree, as remedial avenues for older learners who have not had the opportunity to benefit from educational provisions when they were young.

Table 7

Forms of Practical Education

Education	Meaning
Technical	That branch of educational systems designed to prepare personnel to practice middle-level technical occupations in the industrial, commercial, and agricultural sectors. (Agudelo, 1978, p. 21)
Vocational	Any educational experience that is entered into in order to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to perform a specified set of job-related goals. (NACAE, 1980, p. 13)
Non-formal	Any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the established formal system whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity that is intended to serve the identifiable objectives (Coombs, 1973, p. 11). *And/or*, Educational activity which occurs outside of the established formal system and is organized to serve the identifiable learning needs of specific groups (Jarvis, 1990, p. 244)

Adult	The entire body of educational processes, whatever the content, level, and methods, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities, as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons, regarded as adult by the society to which they belong, develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development (UNESCO, 1976). *And/or,* Organized programmes of education adapted to the needs of persons not in the regular school and university system and generally fifteen or older (UNESCO, 1974, p. 38).

For nations in the region, as well as for the Third World in general, practical forms of education are designed, therefore, to ensure that, in the spirit of Robert McNamara's words, "... opportunities be extended throughout an educational system for those underprivileged groups who have been thwarted in their desire to enter the mainstream of the country's economic and social life" (World Bank, 1974, p. ii).

In Latin America in general, and in the region in particular, practical forms of education are alternatives aimed at providing schooling for members of middle- to lower socio-economic strata since elites and upper-classes still consume more academic education, as they have historically done. Torres comment regarding adult education has more than passing applicability to consumers of other forms of non classical schooling,

> ... the clientele in Latin American societies is composed mainly of peasants and indigenous peoples, urban marginals, self-employed people in lower rank positions, lower-wage urban workers usually located in competitive industries and in service sectors (as opposed to those located in monopoly industries and the different intermediate and upper levels of government bureaucracy), and the lowest levels of the urban industrial petty bourgeoisie, particularly in those countries with the lowest levels of industrial development (1987, p. 8)

Therefore, in Latin America the population in need of practical forms of education is highly specific in terms of its socio-economic characteristics and political power (Torres, 1987, 1990).

Expected Benefits from Educational Assistance and Recommended Forms of Education

As pointed out by Alladin in his discussion of traditional development, agencies and traditional developmentalists claim that

> ... through a combination of technology, nonformal training, foreign aid, and national will, it is possible to provide everyone with a level of schooling sufficient to secure a job. At the same time, this will reduce poverty and inequality. Through nonformal education programs, people will acquire skills that they can apply to their nation's development. (1984, p. 84)

Therefore, traditional developmentalists expect benefits from international education

assistance to be felt, given sufficient time, at international, national, societal, and individual levels since they all are unavoidably interrelated. A country which has a highly skilled population, especially in modern sectors of its economy, is better able to compete successfully in the world market (ECLAC, 1992; IDB, 1981, 1984), as repeatedly attested to by industrialized DCs in the North (Harbison, 1973; Meier, 1978; and Schultz, 1963, 1981). The products of better education are enhanced production, and adoption by the country as a whole of modern work attitudes and orientations (ECLAC, 1992) .

The higher international standing achieved by a country in the process of development, especially in the later stages of such process, results in perceptible improvements in local economic realities and, eventually, population lifestyle (World Bank, 1990a, 1990b). As national economy betters, the country will progressively shift from authoritarian forms of political regime to democratic rule (Cammack, 1985; and Todaro, 1986). Here again, the historical experience of the North is a convincing testimony of the many merits of such evolutional path.

Although, initially, direct benefits from education, training, and development might only be experienced by some sectors and classes of local societies (entrepreneurs and industrialists, for instance), in due time they will reach all citizens, via progressive income redistribution referred-to as the trickle-down effect. In this context, "aid acts as a 'pump-priming' mechanism ... triggering growth in the modern sector, the effect of which will trickle-down to the relatively backward sectors of the economy" (Webster, 1984, p. 151).

In such a national / societal context, educated individuals are free to grow and self-actualize, as well as to take part in an enlightened manner, in the many political processes

available to them under new democratic regimes. The individual, therefore, ultimately benefits from economic development rooted in education by being able to live a more satisfying and full existence (McGinn, 1980; and World Bank, 1990a, 1990b). Not surprisingly, the example of the developed North is offered as the proof of the validity of such claims.

Assessment of Results

Although formal documents assessing results achieved by aid in the Third World are quite difficult to obtain and review, especially those related to the long-range impact and significance of projects, and beyond the scope of this study, whatever sources are available seem to convey generally positive impressions (IDB, 1981; and Cassen *et al*, 1986). Nevertheless, limitations in effects achieved are also recognized. In terms of limitations, the socio-cultural and political climates prevailing in the region are often mentioned as being less than propitious for the effective implementation of lasting improvement (ECLAC, 1992; Blat Gimeno, 1983; and IDB, 1981). The calibre of some of the executives or persons in positions of responsibility; is questioned as is the less-than-ideal allocation of resources available (human and others), even those provided under the terms of stringent international loans (Blat Gimeno, 1983; and Hurabielle 1990, 1991). Also suspect are the sociological tendencies mentioned by Parsons, Lipset and McClelland, tendencies affecting society as a whole, and the lack of long-term political stability (Blat Gimeno, 1983; and Jackson, 1987) precluding trouble-free implementation of changes at all levels and in all areas.

Summary

In partial response to research questions #1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, Chapter III set out to discover what development was from the modernization perspective; where the need for such development came from; why traditionalists considered modern development to be a pressing priority; what sort of educational assistance was deemed by traditional parties to appropriately support modernization; and how these forms of education were presented. It was found that, for traditional developmentalists, to progress along modern developmental paths, or, in other words, to modernize, is to engage in a form of economic development similar to that once followed by advanced industrialized nations.

In their eyes, local underdevelopment is solely attributable to deficiencies inherent to the affected societies. These deficiencies are historical, cultural, political, economic, social, and educational. It was also pointed out that these deficiencies interacted in today's global context to make the consequences of underdevelopment more detrimental. This latter reality is the most important reason why traditional developmentalists perceive modern development to be a pressing priority and advocate an immediate transition from the present state of backwardness characterizing Latin America, to one of advancement similar to that presently existing in modern industrialized societies.

Modernization and the creation of human capital necessary to support it are recommended by traditionalists as approaches well-suited to bring imminently required changes in the economic, social, cultural, and political realities of the region of focus, approaches to be assisted by international aid. In such a strategy, education is viewed and presented as an ideal tool for disseminating desirable ideas and values, changing attitudes,

propensities, beliefs, and inclinations, as well as facilitating the acquisition of modern knowledge and skills necessary for adequately competing in the global market. To properly effect these changes local educational systems have to be overhauled for they are currently plagued with considerable shortcomings in most of their aspects. Furthermore, considering the global trend towards the use of advanced technologies and the technification of business and industry, contemporary modernization developmentalists consider the process of technology-transfer, and related technical / technological / vocational education, to be well suited for equipping local nations with the tools and skills they need to successfully meet the challenges of an increasingly industrialized world.

CHAPTER IV
UNDERDEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY, AND THE CRITICAL PARADIGM

Preamble

Chapter IV, which deals with content-specific aspects of this study, presents the reader with a response to research question #6. As such, it focuses on the perception and presentation of developmental and educational efforts by Critical parties and offers a natural continuation to, and expansion of, the "The Critical / Dependency Paradigm" section introduced in Chapter II. Chapter IV exposes the reader to the second of two major schools of thought presented in this thesis with respect to the region under study. For the reader's convenience, Chapter IV is organized in small sections identified by sub-headings highlighting their content as it relates to the research question. In the context of such organization, this chapter is broadly divided into sections dealing with historical factors, current underdevelopment and dependency, local education, and the role of foreign educational assistance. As Chapter IV unfolds, each section is further divided to accommodate appropriate discussion of its own components.

Focussing on Spanish South America

Dependency advocates and critical developmentalists perceive the fate of developing nations to be defined not only by past historical realities, but also by a continuum of detrimental factors deliberately imposed upon them by the dominant First World. For such individuals, the predicaments of LDCs can be directly attributable to imbalances established during colonial times, and carefully maintained and subtly expanded over time to best meet DCs' interests. In South America the lack of development is

perceived by dependency advocates (referred-to locally as *dependentistas*) and critical developmentalists, as being the direct result of colonial practices protracted to ensure continuing DC domination over the region. Now that political independence has been achieved by all local nations new forms of control have been improvised by DCs (Castro, 1990; Chilcote, 1984; Chomsky, 1993; Colorado, 1991; and Jalee, 1968). Aside from exhibiting similarities with most nations of the Third World, the region discussed here also shows some characteristics of its own quite unique to the area. These are: the existence of rigid pre-colombian theocracies over a substantial portion of the geographical region (Mason, 1988); colonization by Spain, a nation historically lagging the level of development achieved by other European countries at the time (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; and Furtado, 1970); the strong and pervasive presence of the Catholic Church during and after the colonial period (Burns, 1977); the early emergence of racially distinct elites comprising *criollos* and *mestizos* (Galeano, 1973); and the very early interference of British and North American capitalism (Baez, 1986).

Pre-colombian and Early Colonial Eras

As summarized by Carlos Fuentes, "the only things truly indigenous to Latin America were theocratic Indian empires; religious intolerance and inquisition; Spanish royal authoritarianism; and a sort of backlands, repressive patrimonialism of a most primitive nature" (1985, p. 12). The region class structure and associated forms of domination date back to pre-colombian theocracies, an era during which masses existed to support the ruling nobility and ensure the operation of the vast and powerful religious apparatus comprising the nation (Winn, 1992). Under this system, the locus of decision

and power was clearly with the small elites mentioned above. The bulk of the population was accustomed to obey and revere while a small group of leaders governed and decided all aspects of life in the land (Aguilar Paredes, 1980). Indeed, as described by Mason,

> The state ... regimented [the people] rigorously and left them no choice, independence, or initiative. ... there was a large class of nobles and priests, supported by the masses. Heavy tribute was demanded of the peasants, who profited very little from it. (1988, p. 180)

The arrival of *conquistadores*, and the associated destruction of all previous traditional systems, brought about the establishment of colonial domination in its most blatant form. A handful of *peninsulares*, most of them adventurers and soldiers of fortune who typically eked out a marginal existence in Spain (Crow, 1992), conquered and ruled a large indigenous mass essentially unaware of the profound changes about to affect them. With the exception of a few rebellions and short conflicts, the new masters had little trouble replacing the old ones (Aguilar Paredes, 1980). An accomplice of the Crown, the Cross accompanied and assisted *conquistadores* in their colonial enterprise. Indeed, as pointed out by Galeano, "the sword and the cross marched together in the conquest and plunder of Latin America" (1973, p. 31). In this regard, one could almost say that one theocracy replaced another.

Initially, motivated by prevailing Christian concerns of the time such as converting heathens and saving savage souls (Galeano, 1973), the Church soon turned its attention to more pragmatic and secular endeavours such as acquiring land and unconditionally supporting Spanish imperialistic aspirations in the new territories. Such pursuits were so wholeheartedly engaged in, that

> By the end of the colonial period the Church and its well-to-do clergy owned an estimated one half of the total wealth in the countries of Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and almost that amount in all of the other Latin American nations. A considerable proportion of the remainder was controlled by the clergy through mortgages. (Crow, 1992, p. 324)

For a good part of the colonial period it was difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the interests of the Crown and those of the Church, or to clearly ascertain which of the two had the most power (Galeano, 1973). Both were so intimately intertwined in all aspects of colonial life in Latin America, that, for all practical purpose, they were effectively one and the same. Indeed, "the Roman Catholic Church in colonial Spanish America served, until the middle of the eighteen century, as the Spanish State's chief agency of social control as an adjunct to the bureaucracy" (Friedman, 1984, p. 50). Effectively then, the uncompromising political, social, cultural, and economic domination of Latin America by the Spanish Crown was further refined and reinforced by an oppressive religious apparatus historically known for its unforgivable abuses and intolerance (Lewin, 1967; Randolph, 1970; and Villanueva & Escandell Bonet, 1984).

In such a ruthless context, Latin America experienced a most complete devaluation of its indigenous past, and original beliefs, religions, arts, cultures, languages, social organizations, and epistemologies. These were deliberately destroyed and replaced by Spanish-made versions thereof. Indeed,

> The Spaniards subjected the natives to the most cruel oppression, going as far as considering them as animals instead of persons. There were serious flaws and abuses in the colonial administration. Religious fanaticism aggravated the situation of the indian ... The occupation of the

> American territory conquered by the Spaniards meant the end of aboriginal organization. America remained subjected to the Spanish Crown which eradicated what was once the american autochthonous civilization. (Aguilar Paredes, 1980, p. 199)[6]

For all concerned, therefore, history in the region started in 1492, or shortly thereafter (Baez, 1986), and earlier times were not to be mentioned for they brought back memories of paganism and backwardness.

In terms of commercial pursuits, the colonial era was marked by plunder and all-out exploitation of Latin America by Spain (Crow, 1992). Not only were indigenous religious treasures seized and exported to the Peninsula, but *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth) was cut open to more easily extract her seemingly never-ending riches. Indians were used as slave labour, with new ones regularly brought to the mines or rural domains to replace those dying (Galeano, 1973). Mines were operated around the clock at a Dantesque pace, and entire natural areas were damaged beyond ecological repair (Ibid). The immense loot so-acquired was transported to the metropole, where the Madrid government, importing manufactured goods its medieval country was unable to produce, used the riches from the *eldorado* (legendary city known for its treasures) to pay nascent industrialists of northern Europe. Spain, as it was, acted as a mere stop-over for the treasures of the great Indian empires and, with the exception of whatever money was needed to build a few more churches and monuments, most of the gold and silver extracted from the region fuelled early capitalism and industrialization in the North. As pointed out by Galeano: "the Spaniards owned the cow, but others drank the milk" (1973, p. 34). Without this early plundering of resources from Latin America, critical historians contend, the

industrialization of northern Europe could have never taken place. In other words, "the metals taken from the new colonial dominions not only stimulated Europe's economic development; one may say that they made it possible" (Ibid, p. 33).

Late Colonial Era and Independence

The later part of the colonial period was characterized by a progressive surrendering of powers by the Spanish Crown to local groups, specifically those consisting of relatively trusted Latin American-born, direct descendants of *peninsulares* (Burns, 1977). These groups were comprised of *criollos* (individuals of Spanish ancestry born in Latin America). Running out of steam, the Spanish government found it both more expedient and more economical to enlist the services of *criollos* rather than relying on exiles from the Iberian Peninsula to perform petty administrative duties in the colonies (Ibid). This era saw the emergence of local elites, usually promoted to higher social status by military careers in the local militias (Ibid), or the acquisition of properties via land grants. As mentioned by Friedman,

> In a society in which a seigniorial ideal prevailed, to make it, to be successful, required one to approximate the aristocratic ideal of becoming a lord of the land. Wealth acquired in trade, mining, farming, graft, tribute, and bureaucratic employment went into the purchase of land and titles of nobility to enhance one's social status, or the purchase of bureaucratic positions as a means to the other two. (1984, p. 54)

This propensity spurred land accumulation and the reinforcement of the *latifundia* system discussed in Chapter II. Such promotion of certain groups, ethnically, economically, intellectually, culturally, ideologically and politically different from the majority of the

masses, were to have social, political, and economic repercussions of such magnitude that Latin America still suffers from them to this date (Galeano, 1973; and Weaver, 1980). The legacy of such systems is a socio-political reality where the few, mostly of pure Spanish or *criollo/mestizo* descent, dominate and exploit the many who are typically of Indian or Black ancestry (Cubitt, 1988).

As explained in Chapter II, the immediate pre-revolutionary period was characterized by mounting tension between the Spanish colonial authorities and the *criollo* elites despite the fact that the latter had enjoyed very distinct privileges under the colonial system. The antagonism was not between the colonial powers and the large oppressed masses; a feature of revolution unique to the South America of the early 1800's (Swift, 1978). Aspiring to take power, *criollos* took advantage of Spain's military weakness in its *ultramar* territories in the wake of Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 -- 1809 (Fuentes, 1985). Focussing its attention on conflict at home, Spain was unable to respond quickly or forcefully enough to revolutionary activities in the region and, in the 1820's, under the command of *libertadores* such as Bolivár and San Martín, the entire region proclaimed its political independence from the Spanish Crown (Winn, 1992).

Three specific aspects of this independence process are worth mentioning here. First, several foreign nations (Britain in particular) sent expeditionary forces, equipment, and supplies to fight the Crown on the rebel side. Little doubt exists, however, that, despite the efforts made to present British involvement in the conflict as international solidarity in a fight for freedom, a strong imperialistic motive was present. Britain was most eager to expand its commercial and trade activities in the region and to displace

Spain from the historically dominant position it had held for centuries in the territories seeking liberation. As mentioned, in 1824, by Sir George Canning, "the deed is done, the nail is driven, Spanish America is free; and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, she is English" (Kaufmann, 1951, p. 178).

Second, although the *libertadores* had envisioned a united Latin America -- both politically and economically, their dream of unity never materialized (Bolivar, 1988). Indeed, "the intrigues of Latin America's new masters grew, and the four viceroyalties of the Spanish empire blew up and gave birth to many new nations, splinters of a might-have-been national unity" (Galeano, 1973, p. 130). Such lack of unity placed local nations in a precarious position to fare autonomously in the economic sphere. And third, soon after independence, *criollos* replaced Spanish autocratic rule with a near-identical one of their own. This effectively precluded structural and societal changes in favour of socially less-privileged groups in which Indians and descendants of Black slaves figured prominently (Cubitt, 1988).

To put it concisely, independence for the masses was never fully realized. As mentioned by Burns,

> The independence of the new nations proved almost at once to be nominal, since the ruling elites remained spiritually linked to Iberia, culturally dependent on France, and economically subservient to Great Britain. They tended to confuse their own well-being and desires with those of the nation at large, a fallacious identification since they represented less that 5 percent of the total population. Nevertheless, that minority set the course upon which Latin America has continued to the present. (1977, p. 88)

Maintaining, and often reinforcing the existing social and labour structures, conserving a

feudal land-tenure system, and engaging in the truncated commercial practices previously described, independent governments, in the hands of traditional *criollo* elites, created, implemented, nurtured, and refined their own brand of colonial domination, known as internal colonialism. Indeed, "with the disappearance of the direct domination of foreigners over natives, the notion of domination and exploitation of natives by natives emerged" (González Casanova, 1965, p. 27). In this context, a small urbanized elite who were of Spanish extraction used their considerable financial and political means, to dominate the rest of the population which consisted largely of indigenous individuals who were rural, poor, and politically insignificant. As pointed out by González Casanova,

> Internal colonialism corresponds to a structure of social relations based on the domination and exploitation among culturally heterogeneous groups. If it has a specific difference with respect to other relations based on superordination, it inheres in cultural heterogeneity which the conquest of some people by others historically produces. (Ibid, p. 33)

Outward-looking, elitist, and racist, early national governments in the region attempted to duplicate in the hinterlands of South America the lifestyles and consumption patterns of European nations: in Burns' words, "the elites believed that 'to progress' meant to recreate their nations as closely as possible to their European and North American models" (1997, p. 91). Therefore, much like it was the tradition in Spain, few resources were allocated to economic development, industrialization, or improving the lot of the masses, but outlandish expenses, such as importing the latest fineries from the metropole, or building self-glorifying monuments, were lavishly financed. In such a context, "the pimps of misery squandered in ostentation and luxury, and in unproductive investments, ...

the capital that Latin America could devote to the replacement, extension, and generation of ... means of production" (Galeano, 1973, p. 13).

The Post-Independence Era

Shortly after independence, local nations had their first real bout with international capitalism in the context of British commercial expansion in the region. "Great Britain quickly replaced the two Iberian kingdoms as the dominant economic force in Latin America and held that primacy throughout the nineteenth century ... As soon as Portugal and Spain fell to Napoleon, eager British merchants began to move in large numbers into Latin America to capture the markets they had so long craved" (Burns, 1977, p. 113). Heavily industrialized, the Isles required a continuous flow of raw goods of all sorts to fuel the never-appeased appetite of its factories and manufacturers. Latin America was quick in assuming the role of provider of such resources for British industries. In fact, during the region's post-independence years, Britain formed a surprisingly high number of new companies to handle the thriving trade with the new nations. During that period, "the British sold more to Latin America than anyone else and in some cases almost monopolized the imports into certain countries" (Ibid, p. 113). Naturally, such companies promptly opened subsidiaries and branch offices throughout South America. Their business was so brisk that the era witnessed an upsurge in foreign investment, especially in the construction of railroads, harbours, and other civil works necessary to more efficiently drain local resources. Instead of building their railroads to link urban centres as had been done in Europe, South American railroads during this time were built to transport freight from production / extraction sites to harbours from where it could be shipped abroad. As

mentioned by Burns, in "Latin America the railways were short, feeder lines for seaports, unconnected and unrelated with each other" (1977, p. 136). In the minds of nineteenth century *rentier* elites, who benefited from such events, South America was developing and becoming modern (Galeano, 1973).

In this climate, the only entrepreneurial challenge of national elites in the region was to keep on exporting more and more natural resources (precious stones, rare woods, cocoa, rubber, copper, tin, coffee, and many others), extracted under a variety of abusive labour arrangements by *peones*. In this way they satisfied contacts in Britain and sustained their own consumption patterns. This early rudimentary trade pattern was instrumental in establishing, early on, entrenched economic dependency in the region. Indeed,

> Dependency accelerated rather than diminished after independence. Latin America depended for its prosperity on the sale of a few natural, raw products to the industrialized nations. Further, it depended on foreign loans, investments, inventions, technology, technicians, merchant ships, middlemen, and ideology. The very accoutrements of its modernization tightened its dependency. (Burns, 1977, p. 146)

South American Underdevelopment and Dependency

> The growth of the advanced industrial centres in the world today meant the simultaneous underdevelopment of those countries whose economic surplus the West exploited. Poor societies should not therefore be regarded in some way 'immature' or 'underdeveloped' in their economic development; ... . So long as they are subject to the dominance of the economic imperialism of the West their poverty will persist ... the periods of merchant capitalism and colonialism forced a specialization of production on Third World countries that was primarily export oriented, of limited range, and geared to the raw material needs of the

> imperial powers. The Third World elites were incorporated into this system and could do little to establish a more diverse, independent form of economic activity. They became the mere intermediaries between the rich purchasers and the poor (peasant) producers. (Webster, 1984, p. 85)

Historical Perspective

It appears that the region never benefited from a clear developmental direction, especially a modern, commercial or industrial one. Historically, intra-regional pre-colombian indigenous trade patterns gave way to the wholesale plunder of minerals which accumulated riches for a ruthless Spanish colonial system. This was followed by the inefficient exploitation of natural resources by a few greedy nationals acting as local brokers for British and European companies (Baez, 1986).

Although these patterns of trade remained largely unmodified, economic dependency on foreign trade took a decisive turn -- some would argue for the worse -- after World War II. At that time, British capitalism, weakened by war efforts against the Third Reich, was effectively displaced by United States capitalism (Baez, 1986; and Burns, 1977). Indeed, "the end of WW II found the European interests in full retreat from Latin America, and US investments triumphantly advancing" (Galeano, 1973, p. 225). From that time on, North America assumed a leading economic role, not only in the region, but in the world in general. From the 1950's on, therefore, dependency on American trade largely replaced the earlier one on British markets. The system, however, operated in a fashion very similar to that implemented in the immediate post-independence era. Mass labour extracted commodities and resources (to which petroleum products have now been added) for the benefit of foreign (US) companies and local associates (elites) (Burns,

1977). These resources were then exported, by foreign enterprises, to First World markets where they brought a good return because they were in high demand. Today as in the past, *rentier* elites only have to facilitate national penetration by foreign interests to reap the many rewards associated with their intermediary roles. As mentioned by Galeano, "our bourgeois of today are agents and functionaries of prepotent foreign corporations, ... enlisted in the foreign invasion force without shedding tears or blood" (1973, pp. 228-229).

From the 1950's on

The pervasive presence of US and other foreign capital, including so-called international aid and assistance, is a clear manifestation of the phenomenon called neo-colonialism (Woodby & Cottam, 1988). Neo-colonialism is the political and economic mechanism whereby DCs (ex-colonial powers or not) dominate dependent nations. As explained by Nkrumah,

> The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system, and thus its internal policy, is directed from the outside. (1965, p. ix)

This mechanism does not rely on the presence of a colonial administrative apparatus, nor on direct political control it simply relies on superior economic, technological, and military strength, and the services of a specific local class sharing the aspirations, views, opinion, developmental paradigms, and educational orientations prevailing in the metropole.

The above-described arrangement does not necessitate, on the part of the dependent country, any degree of national resourcefulness, innovation, or risk taking;

qualities more than willingly assumed by the dominant player. As such, in the region there is a strong "asymmetry between a high component of imitation (the stage prior to learning), and a very small component of economic and social innovation" (Fajnzylber, 1990, p. 8). In such a dependent context, foreign companies depend on Latin America for raw materials, and Latin America depends on its main trading partner (now the US) for a market to sell its resources. As observed by Fernando Fajnzylber, today as in the past, "the countries [of the region] still depend on natural resources for gaining access to external markets. The availability of those resources in turn influence the pattern of industrialization adopted" (Ibid, p. 26).

Something that is not needed in such an arrangement is a change in socio-political equilibrium. Therefore, most governments in the region go to great lengths to ensure socio-political status-quo (Burns, 1977; and Galeano, 1973). Mass participation, labour emancipation, modifications of production structures, wage increases, lifestyle improvement, and democratization are, by definition, incompatible with the needs of local elites and the maximization of foreign profits. As a result, South America is periodically and routinely subjected to the abusive political regimes and undemocratic measures (Gott, 1984) apparently necessary to satisfy foreign interests, and those of a small, privileged, national socio-economic stratum. As explained by Eduardo Galeano, using Uruguay as an example to illustrate such a situation,

> The abyss that exists in Latin America between the well-being of the few and the misery of the many is infinitely greater than in Europe or the United States. Hence the methods necessary to maintain it are much more ruthless. ... In Uruguay half the budget now goes for the armed forces

> and police, and the function of one fifth of the active population is to watch, trail, and punish the others. (1973, p. 293)

From this account, it is plain to see that such a system demands an unusually high military expenditure, which diverts substantial resources from arguably more pressing developmental allocations. Even in time of intra-regional peace, military expenditures continue to grow in Latin America for the enemy is perceived, by national security forces, to be the subversion within.

Because of reliance on outside markets, dependency was first and most strongly felt in the economic realm. Over the years this dependency underwent a considerable expansion in scope, nature, and depth -- a process to which international assistance contributed in no small way. These modifications are of such magnitude that the symptoms of dependency can now be observed in most, if not all aspects of national existence in the region.

Contemporary Dependency

> The point of departure for any credible analysis of Latin American reality must be its fundamental determinant, which Latin Americans have come to recognize and now call *dependence*. This dependence is the result of the historical development and contemporary structure of world capitalism, to which Latin America is subordinated, and the economic, political, social, and cultural policies generated by the resulting class structure, especially by the class interests of the dominant bourgeoisie. It is important to understand, therefore, that throughout the historical process, dependence is not simply an 'external' relation between Latin America and its world capitalist metropolis but equally an 'internal' indeed *integral*, condition of Latin American society itself. (Frank, 1972, pp. 19-20)

The contemporary concept of dependency finds its roots in neo-marxism, and addresses, from that particular philosophical perspective, the on-going economic failure of the region. Like the modernization paradigm, dependency links development to industrialization (Webster, 1984). According to Andre Gunder Frank (1967), one of the dependency theory's major proponents who discussed Latin America, DCs are responsible for the continuing poverty of the South because development in the North drains resources away from the region through a carefully established multiple-step process that induces local underdevelopment.

Frank perceives domination / dependency relationships to be based on a centre-periphery structure existing at multiple levels. In such a structure, the metropole is the centre dominating the colony (which is the periphery). In addition, the metropole and the periphery also have their own centres and peripheries. In either case, metropole or colony, centres always dominate peripheries (Frank, 1967). These specific relationships are illustrated, graphically, in Figure 7, which shows that the centre of the metropole controls all spheres, while, at the other extreme, the periphery of the periphery controls nothing but is dominated by all other spheres. Taking these relationships further, Frank contends that there exists "a whole chain of metropolises and satellites, which runs from the world metropolis down to the hacienda or rural merchant who are satellites of the local

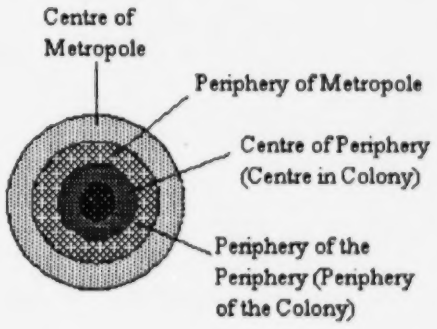
Centre of Metropole
Periphery of Metropole
Centre of Periphery (Centre in Colony)
Periphery of the Periphery (Periphery of the Colony)

Figure 7. Centres / Peripheries Relationships

commercial metropolitan centre but who in their turn have peasants as their satellites" (Ibid, p. 34).

Although Frank recognized the pervasive nature of dependency, at the time of his writing he focused his attention principally on its economic manifestations. Since then, however, through the expansion alluded to above, dependency has spread to considerably broader areas. Now, not only does the fundamental economic dependency still exists, but its many consequences are clearly noticeable today in the outright borrowing / adoption of northern capitalist beliefs, attitudes, paradigms, lifestyle, aspirations, and ideologies (Baez, 1986).

Therefore, dependency in the region of focus can be observed in many diverse areas, such as: preferred developmental paradigms and strategies, culture, values and beliefs, media, family structure, agriculture, industry, politics, armed forces, national security, technology transfer, national and international finances (Fajnzylber, 1990), and, naturally, education. In other words, for *dependentistas*, not only is Latin America losing its resources, but there exists little doubt that it is also surrendering its soul (Baez, 1986).

Developmental Paradigm

One of the first areas where dependency is clearly perceived, is that of the developmental paradigm prevailing in the region. As mentioned earlier, and discussed in Chapters II and III, this paradigm is based on modernization (or slight variations thereof) and the creation of human capital. Considering the First World origins of this paradigm and the endorsement of it by outward-looking elites, it can hardly be said that South American governments do not depend on developed nations of the North for their

developmental guidance. Indeed,

> The ideas and actions of governing groups inspired themselves from doctrines originating from the beaches of the Atlantic, and as such, lacking in authenticity and badly digested. ... Physically disconnected, assimilating in their own way the lessons from Occident, our countries ended up joining the coalition of capitalist powers under the command of the United States, sealing their material and spiritual dependence ... (Baez, 1986, p. 61)[7]

Since it depends on a foreign product for such a fundamental building block as national economic evolution and recovery, the region can hardly be said to be off to a good, autonomous start in this area.

At best, DCs can only recommend the paradigm that worked well for them in the past, which is what they do. As pointed out by Seers, "the chief theoretical schools of Europe and North America promote their own recipes for accelerating growth as universally valid" (1980, p. 6). At worse, they can deliberately advise strategies that maintain or increase their superior international economic strength while undermining, foiling, or postponing Latin American development in the process (Adams & Solomon, 1985). For, as explained by Imre Khasbulatov,

> It is obvious that economic backwardness is a factor that impedes elimination of the developing countries' economic dependence on the West. This dependence serves to perpetuate backwardness, enabling the imperialist powers to drain away huge profits from the developing nations. ... the imperialist states are doing what they can to impeded development of productive forces in those countries ... [for] They regard growing productive forces in developing countries as potential rivals. (1987, pp, 9-10)

Even at best, therefore, DCs can only assist the region to retrace a developmental process

they, themselves, had undergone during their own industrialization, trusting that the strategies of yesterday will help solve the problems of today.

Unfortunately, expecting such cross-contextual and cross-historical suitability of approaches is highly unrealistic, for as mentioned by Fajnzylber,

> Latin America, for its part, must deal with an international environment that is much less favourable and much more complex than it was during the pre-industrial stage, in several regards, i.e., the dynamism of the world economy, financial flows, trends in technology, standardization of a lifestyle rapidly disseminated by communications and, finally, the prevailing influence of a school of economic thought which is not even applied in practice in the economic policies of the advances societies, and which does not reflect the true situation of the Latin American countries (1990, p. 52)

First, European countries and North America had access to ample resources from the four corners of the globe to fuel their industrialization (resources obtained, in the case of the former, via the classical colonization process), which is an avenue certainly not available to South America today (Galeano, 1973). Second, even though northern development and capitalist expansion took full advantage of the industrial and technological evolution of the time, such evolution occurred at a noticeably slower pace than it does today (Baechler, 1976; Martin, 1983; and Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1986), and affected far fewer areas of life. Here again, the historical context was quite different from that in which South America is presently attempting to stay afloat. Now, a day hardly goes by where some significant innovation does not appear somewhere in the world (Cetron & Davies, 1991). The ultimate impact of such quick industrialization / technological pace is further accelerated by the undeniable advances recently made in the

field of communication, in light of which, as pointed out by Toffler & Toffler, "to be decoupled from the fast economy is to be excluded from the future (1991, p. 56).

Third, although according to many economists, a certain level of population is desirable if not indispensable for modern capitalist development to occur (Baechler, 1976; Martin, 1983; and Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1986), Europe and North America, while developing, never had to contend with the contemporary population of Latin America. In 1991, and just for the region covered by this study, this population was 141.8 millions (calculated from figures supplied by Cardoso & Helwege, 1992, p. 4). Demographically, therefore, the present situation in the region of focus is perceptibly different from that encountered by DCs in the past. Fourth, making matters worse is the unjust, unsuitable, and restrictive contemporary international economic order (George, 1989), with which the region is forced to trade while attempting to develop. Strangled by northern greed and burdened by the interests and principals of odious debts (Adams, 1991), local governments, regardless of their political capacity or inherent proclivity, are unable to allocate sufficient resources to areas where they would most benefit their nations and their people. In terms of economic order, the development of Europe and the USA was considerably different, for neither of them was subjected to comparable constraints.

Fifth, a factor of a more psychological nature, is the existence of *successful* examples of development in the North. When most DCs developed, they did not have constant examples of how things were supposed to be in advanced industrialized countries. The North, indeed, did not have a precise, or even concrete, idea of what development would really turn out to be, and its populations did not entertain

preconceived ideas of lifestyle changes or aspirations far removed from their daily realities. In other words, development in DCs just happened to become what it is. In Latin America, however, the majority of the population (and the elites in particular) are fully aware of modern life in the industrialized world (Fajnzylber, 1990). As such, development in the region is continually being measured against standards so distant from the day-to-day experience of the average citizen that they become unreachable under present national and international systems and generate considerable frustration among masses (Baez, 1986). Lured by the promise of a new, and presumably better, lifestyle, local populations are distracted from the very task of developing. In this respect too, therefore, DCs and South America's developmental context are dissimilar.

To these differences, finally, we must add the profound disenchantment of a substantial number of Latin Americans with the classical development paradigm (Kay, 1989). Denounced by *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists, modernization can only boast of a mediocre track record in the region. In the words of Anibal Quijano,

> ... the "metamorphosis" of modernity in Latin America, itself a product of colonial domination, served to unduly protract a form of power benefiting those social sectors embodying the most perverse aspects of colonial domination, those less touched by modern rationality, and who, with the pressure of "modernization" managed to maintain their positions. (1990, p. 58)[8]

It is not surprising therefore, if after nearly thirty years of developmental attempts falling under the modernization umbrella, Latin America is, at best, as underdeveloped as it was. The existence of doubts concerning the direction of national development can be seen, then, as one more sizeable difference in developmental context between industrialized DCs

and countries in the region. In light of the foregoing arguments, *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists question the fundamental validity of what they perceive to be the inherently dependent developmental paradigm prevailing in the region under study.

Cultural Dependency

Manifestations of dependency can also be clearly noticed in the area of culture. Here ideas, beliefs, attitudes, values, orientations, aspirations, and ideologies of DCs (and of the USA in particular) are forced onto the region via all conceivable means: telecommunication and radiophonic media, the press, education, advertising, and publishing (Chomsky, 1989; and Tomlinson, 1991). Consequently, under constant cultural aggression from the North, the region has experienced many profound and deleterious effects. Materialism has appeared and spread, affecting even those segments of the population who cannot afford, by any stretch of the imagination to share the American Dream. Popular aspirations are no longer tailored to regional realities, current or future, as mentioned by Baez,

> The ideal that must be spread, and for which all possible means of mind-conditioning are used with irresistible ostentation, is that everything is fine and that people should busy themselves acquiring a house, a car, some artifact or fashionable clothing. (1986, p. 105)[9]

Such an organized pursuit of unreachable dreams attracts (pulls) rural masses to urban centres where they swell the tide of migrants poorly qualified for all but the most menial and poorly paid occupations (Martinez, 1987). To this "pulling" action must also be added conditions such as poor land distribution, dismal living conditions and lack of services driving or "pushing" peasants away from rural areas. Traditional family structures

are profoundly affected by culturally incongruent pressures external to the region, displacing traditional roles and inducing an abnormal degree of geographic mobility. And, lastly, Latin Americans are affected by a false northern consciousness, buying wholeheartedly in a socio-economic capitalist system which is not their own, and at a time when many DCs citizens, themselves, question its very validity. This whole situation, is referred to by Fajnzylber in the following terms,

> The desire to reproduce the lifestyle of the advanced countries, especially that of the United States, is a common feature of all the countries in the region ... , regardless of the level of development, socioeconomic system or ethnic background. ... [However], the reference lifestyle has arisen in a country whose per capita income is currently equivalent to more than seven times the per capita income of Latin America, and whose economy is practically five time larger than that of the Latin American countries taken together. Moreover, the very country in which it originated has recently noted that this lifestyle is so expensive that its own domestic resources are not sufficient to sustain it. (1990, p. 19)

From a broad cultural perspective, therefore, critical developmentalists have evolved the opinion that, in the context of the so-called *western progress*, local cultures and lifestyles continue to be devaluated via all possible means (thereby effectively furthering the task already started during classical colonial time). Furthermore, they perceive the process of *developing* as being the grafting of problems of the North on top of those inherent to the region itself, thereby exacerbating them.

Industrial Dependency

Aside from the often-mentioned dependency on export markets in the First World, the region also experiences the DCs' influence in other aspects of industrialization. Such

an obvious pressure is that exercised by foreign capital and finance; in this context, the old popular saying "who pays the fiddler picks the tune" takes its full meaning. The North American and international world of aid and finance, providing capital and miscellaneous resources to invest in the region, reserves for itself the right of ultimately guiding in a direction most beneficial to the metropole those industries in which they invest. As mentioned by Eduardo Galeano, "international charity does not exist; it begins at home, for the U.S. as for everyone else. ... The U.S. economy aids itself" (1973, p. 249).

In the industrial context, Latin America has been, and still is, notorious for

> importing production techniques designed to economize on labour, although it has labour to spare and in several countries the unemployed may soon be the overwhelming majority. And thus its own impotence puts the progress of the region at the will or whim of foreign investors. (Galeano, 1973, p. 267)

This propensity, quite naturally, is another reality of international assistance that critical developmentalists are quick to denounce for its nefarious effects on local economies.

In addition, especially in the context of multinational and transnational integration, heavily dependent industries are only allowed to expand or grow in directions congruent with plans elaborated in DCs, and which serve northern interests (Fajnzylber, 1990). Not only does this First World influence impact on directions of development, but it also determines the level of industrial advancement permitted in the region at any given time (Baez, 1986). Historically, Third World's industrial operations have been limited to relatively low degrees of sophistication (Khasbulatov, 1987).

The region has also experienced a progressive take-over of its most promising

industries by First World companies. Now over seventy-five percent of the dynamic sectors belong to foreign firms (Baez, 1986, p. 58), a condition denounced by Galeano who states that "foreign oligopolies, with their ultramodern technology, steadily and not very secretly took over the national industry of all Latin American countries" (1973, p. 232) This leaves to local entrepreneurs and industrialists the near-impossible task of keeping afloat marginal sectors of national industries. As a result, the most dynamic sectors are slowly being controlled and absorbed by metropole-based concerns (Fajnzylber, 1990; and Khasbulatov, 1987), a fact already acknowledged twenty years ago by the Organization of American States, in the following statement:

> Latin American enterprises continue in control of already established and less sophisticated industries and techniques, while private investment from the United States -- and probably from other industrialized countries also -- rapidly increases its participation in certain dynamic industries, which require a relatively high technical level and more important in determining the course of economic development. (OAS, 1969, p.12)

In the above-described context, *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists claim that instead of benefiting from western assistance, the local industry is either actively taken-over by foreigners, or (in its less dynamic sectors) condemned to agonize a slow death in the hands of weakening national industrial groups.

Agricultural Dependency

Just as was the case in the local industrial context, agriculture in the region is extremely dependent and heavily penetrated by foreign interest (principally from the United States). As such, the majority of land ownership is with local elites and

multinational corporations (MNCs) / transnational corporations (TNCs). Northern enterprises monopolize tracts of land so large that little is left, if any, for local peasants and rural proletarians to cultivate for their own subsistence (Benalcázar Pabón, 1988). In the context of international investment or assistance, therefore, agriculture means agro-industry or agri-business.

In addition to the previously mentioned disruption caused to subsistence cultivation, agricultural dependency also accounts for the introduction in the region of equipment, chemicals, and practices not only poorly suited to geographical realities but outright detrimental to local populations and the environment (Adams & Solomon, 1985). Often, agricultural techniques designed for the North American prairies are imported without a second thought and implemented with little or insufficient modifications to accommodate the projects of tropical or Andean surroundings. This results in greatly reduced efficiency and destructive ecological impact. Northern agricultural strategies focus on highly mechanized, financially and technologically costly approaches, which reduce labour, enhance production and maximize profits. Such techniques are extremely detrimental to the life of local rural populations for they minimize occupational opportunities (Martinez, 1987), keep workers' wages very low, and maximize profits for companies and rural elites thereby aggravating the already disproportionate economic differences existing in the region. Furthermore, such strategies are fuel-hungry and difficult or impossible to adequately maintain in the field. They require periodical upgrading of workers knowledge (Schuh & Angeli-Schuh, 1989); they often make use of practices so environmentally questionable and chemicals so toxic that they have been

banned long-ago in industrialized nations. As mentioned by Adams & Solomon,

> because the responsibility for our foreign aid officials generally ends with the disbursement of funds, because they do not need to live with the consequences of their projects, they do not need to know and so do not know, of their effect on the region. (1985, p. 13)

Peculiar to the geographical area is the symbiotic relationship struck between feudal rural labour practices, which originated in the *encomienda / hacienda* system, and late capitalism. These two forms of production have fostered and maintained an internal colonialist climate very unique to Latin America. Rodólfo Stavenhagen described this as follows:

> In the majority of Latin American countries it is possible to speak of the coexistence in the same national territory of different modes of production, corresponding to different historical periods. ... It is beyond doubt that, especially in the countryside, vestiges of historically-surpassed modes of production still survive, while it is equally evident that the dominant mode of production (that is to say dependent or peripheral capitalism) exercises its hegemony over others. This phenomenon is the one which we call internal colonialism, that is to say, the subordination of modes of production and forms of precapitalist accumulation to the dominant mode of production, which leads to the subordination and exploitation of certain economic and social sectors, of certain segments of the population from certain geographical regions, by others. (1973, pp. 280-281)

In addition to the above-mentioned problems, even when successful, agricultural undertakings are still heavily concentrated and are characterized by highly specialized farming or forms of mono-agriculture, which makes local economies more vulnerable to DCs' market demands (Galeano, 1973). *Dependentistas* and critical developmentalists criticize this form of reliance on foreign intervention and ideas. It greatly limits true

regional, indigenous development; it exercises unacceptable pressure on an already stressed environment, perpetuates feudal labour relations, and prevents peasants from ensuring their own subsistence.

Local Labour Realities

It is common knowledge that labour conditions in Latin America have been repressive. Very few efficient labour groups exist, and only a small number of these have managed to achieve a perceptible gain in their interaction with established elites and local governments (Burns, 1977; and Swift, 1978). The presence in the region of a strong labour consciousness and the existence of revolutionary movements combined with militant activity have had little impact (Gott, 1984). Prevailing forms of governments and their associated repressive apparatuses (which are both explored in two immediately following sub-sections of this thesis) have been successful in maximizing profits for their masters in the metropole and curbing and checking any attempts, by the masses, at significantly modifying socio-economic and political realities in the hemisphere. As noted by René Baez, there exist strong

> tendencies towards a new division of labour and specialization of production directly defined by multinational consortia. The exclusionary character of this type of economic structure would coincide, or better said, would impose the establishment and/or extension of authoritarian regimes. ... From what we have been taught by recent history, this type of regime is the one most compatible with the centralized structure and operation of multinational corporations. (1986, p. 78)[10]

Consequently, local governments catering to the needs of international finance and the aspirations of national elites did not experience serious difficulty in integrating labour

forces in the region into the modern capitalist global division of labour (Galeano, 1973). This integration, in turn, resulted in the wholesale sub-proletarization of Latin American masses (Baez, 1986). Already alienated at the national level through integration in the capitalist global division of labour, workers in the region discovered themselves to be at the lowest level of such a hierarchy. This realization substantiates, in no small way, the validity of Frank's concept of centres / peripheries international / national domination. For critics of traditional development, labour realities in the region, instead of improving and exhibiting the many blessing of modernization, democratization, industrialization, trickle-down and associated fallacies, have steadily deteriorated. This compounds local social inequity by introducing world capitalist inequalities.

Technology Transfer

Intimately related to industrial and agricultural dependency, is the issue of technology transfer. As mentioned in Chapter III, research and development is very low in the region, a fact accounting significantly for industrial progress being tied to First World technology transfer (Cortes & Bocock, 1984; and Dietz & James, 1990). In this transfer as well, DCs have the ultimate word in deciding which forms and levels of technology will be made available to Latin American nations. Typically, leading-edge technology is never made available to the South, and only forms of technology at, or approaching, the end of their life-cycle (that is, having already completed their useful life in DCs) are accessible to Third World industries (Lall, 1975, 1983, 1992). In the words of Raúl Prebisch,

> U.S. enterprises in Europe install laboratories and undertake

> research which helps strengthen the scientific and technical capacity of those countries, something that has not happened in Latin America ... most of the transferred technology consists of techniques that are in the public domain but are licensed as specialized knowledge. (January 1970)

Even in the case of multinational and transnational industries, advanced processes are customarily handled elsewhere while lower level, peripheral processes are handled in the region (Baez, 1986).

Regardless of the level of technology available to the Third World, contractual terms regulating access to technology transfer and the cost of such technologies to recipient nations are, with very few exceptions, under the sole control of developed nations (Cortes & Bocock, 1984; and Fajnzylber, 1990). Terms usually favouring the seller, and costs are customarily disproportionate in terms of the technology's vintage, relevancy to local needs and production processes, and probable long-range impact (Galeano, 1973).

Furthermore, unsuitable technologies are often transferred to conditions considerably different from those for which they were designed. As mentioned by Baez

> The technological injections have been given with an absolute lack of understanding of the metabolisms of our nations. ... From all perspectives, the method utilized -- consisting in the superposition of techniques devised for other realities, ended up numbing local productive forces by subjugating them to the control of imperialism. (1986, pp. 29-30)[11]

Lastly, another deleterious effect of technology in the region is the leverage it gives MNCs and TNCs to efficiently take-over the most profitable sectors of the local industry (point discussed earlier in this study); these include sectors where know-how and

technical sophistication place foreign companies at a considerable advantage (Fajnzylber, 1990; Baez, 1986; and Galeano, 1973). As pointed by Sanjaya Lall in her discussion of Latin America, "the heavy reliance of these countries on MNCs for a great deal of advanced technology may well have preempted indigenous capability development in the sectors concerned" (1992, p. 207). To critical developmentalists, therefore, technology transfer in the region acts as a detriment to local development and is a most reliable mechanism utilized by DCs to effectively extract scant currencies from Latin America and absorb them in metropole economies for the sole benefit of the North.

Political

Local dependency on outside factors influences, in more than a passing way, political realities in the region. Not only do foreign interests and decisions shape the local industrial context but they also define political, labour, and social relations in the region. In the words of Galeano,

> foreign debt and foreign investment oblige us to multiply exports that they themselves devour. The task can't be accomplished with gentlemanly manners. To fulfil their functions as hostages of foreign prosperity, Latin American workers must be held prisoner, either inside or outside the bars of the jails. (1973, pp. 299-300)

DC governments (and the USA principally) go to great lengths to establish and maintain *friendly* regimes or displace those they perceive to be too far to the left or exceedingly sympathetic to the plight of the masses (Galeano, 1973; Gott, 1984; and Woodby & Cottam, 1988). In this context, any attempt at improving people's conditions is customarily met with repressive or limiting measures. Only regimes ideologically aligned

with the capitalist world, as represented by the USA, are tolerated. This reality is clearly illustrated, below by comments made about Bolivia:

> The financial and technical aid to Bolivia was channelled by the U.S. government in such a way as to support the moderate, middle-class leaders of the revolution, Paz Estenssoro and Siles, against the radical, working-class factions. Thus aid, skilfully directed, helped to shape the course of the Bolivian Revolution and, in the opinion of many scholars, to set its limits. (Burns, 1977, p. 242)

By playing such a nefarious role, the North denies South America the very democratization it considered so essential to its own developmental process (Baez, 1986). As will be discussed shortly, northern political interference is very often accompanied by military interference as well.

In light of the above-discussed political interference with local affairs, many Latin Americans critics resent, quite understandably, foreign meddling in national politics, for they deliberately prevent, in their opinion, the permanent resolve of many crucial problems at the regional level.

Technocratic Hegemony

In the recent past, Latin America has experienced a political trend already visible elsewhere in the world. That trend is technocracy, or a system of government (whose members are usually foreign-trained and/or outward-looking) advocating the management and control of the economy, government, and social system by technological experts (Random House, 1991). Due to greatly accelerated advances in communication and computing, a new class of national and international power brokers has emerged. This class comprises technocrats, individuals who rule by relying on their unwavering faith in

the predictive quality of science, technology, and information (Baez, 1986; and Galeano, 1973). As denounced by Merani,

> the technocratic system is essentially predictive, for it is considered to be grounded in a principle established once and for all, independently of any future experience or event which -- if it occurs -- will only have a technical character and never be allowed to have a social one; consequently, this system will ensure reproduction without modifying the structures. (1983, p. 186)[12]

Since this trend first appeared in industrialized countries and is based on science and technology, it is little surprise if Latin American technocrats share northern views and depend on the technocratic evolution of industrialized countries for their models, paradigms, and guidance (Baez, 1986; and Galeano, 1973).

Furthermore, to assist local governments in their technocratic endeavours, it is not rare to rely on the services of foreign experts thereby further exacerbating dependency on external sources of knowledge (Fajnzylber, 1990). Although the emergence of a technocratic class might help displace traditional elites (who lack appropriate technological know-how), the danger certainly exists that such elites are in an ideal position to move in and exercise monopoly over these areas, ensuring, thereby, the survival of their traditional class in a modified environment. For critical developmentalists and dependentistas, technocracy is one more undesirable tool used by the North to encroach on the South. Some even perceive technocracy as yet another manifestation of northern instrumental rationality pitted against southern historical rationality (Baez, 1986) in an attempt to check all measures aimed at modifying social structures.

Strategic / Military / Security

Militarily, the region is again highly dependent on the North and on the United States in particular (Galeano, 1973). Prevailing ideologies are strongly imbued with a national security concept in the context of which any social or labour unrest is perceived to be the manifestation of strong underground communist movements threatening national sovereignty and territorial security and, therefore, to be squashed in the most forceful and repressive manner (Ibid). Therefore, it can be said that, "By and large, the military have been associated with the maintenance of the status-quo, and they have served as the armed agents of the middle and upper classes" (Burns, 1977, p. 252). Subversion is customarily defined, in such context, in terms reminding even the most casual observer of the apogee of North American anti-communism in the 1950's. Against such background, foreign powers (chiefly the USA) are not beyond deliberately undertaking large scale political destabilization campaigns in the region thereby fostering a climate justifying local repression and increased militarization. As mentioned by Burns,

> The State Department, CIA, and the Pentagon, in tune with the wishes of the multinational corporations, favoured the status quo and suspected even the most toothless reforms of Communist influence. So long as the "democratic alternative" frustrated change it received U.S. support, but every time it threatened to institute real reforms, the United States acted in alliance with the Latin American middle class and elites to subvert it. ... The sad truth has been emerging in abundant detail that U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America represented exclusively the interest of large multinational corporations and evinced no interest, other than occasional rhetorical platitudes, in either the development or democracy of that region. The CIA apparently found eager collaborators among the Latin American themselves who, sharing the company's disdain for

> democracy and development, facilitated its operations. (1977, p. 261)

Whether real or fabricated, the existence of *enemies from within* greatly facilitates and explains the expansion of local arsenals in the region since, "the national bourgeoisie, subordinated to big U.S. concerns is much more afraid of mass pressure than of imperialist oppression" (Galeano, 1973, p. 234). Typically, military/security budgets receive priority (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992), and the international arms trade is a brisk business indeed (Bahbah, 1986). Local nations are easily convinced to untie their purse strings to acquire what is described to them as the latest in military hardware. Such hardware is customarily purchased from the industrialized world (United Nations, 1990) for, with the only possible exceptions of Argentina and especially Brazil, South American armament industry is inconsequential. As in industrial technology transfer, doubts surround the terms, costs, and level of sophistication of equipment involved in arms transfer (Ra'anam, Pfaltzgraff, & Kemp, 1978). Inextricably tied to the acquisition of military hardware is the dependency of countries in the region on training provided by military experts made available by developed nations (Bahbah, 1986; and United States Congress, 1991). Critical thinkers view militarization as being an active and effective tool of western imperialism, for in the context of such process, a *trusted* segment of the local population is trained and equipped by its northern masters -- but at its own expense -- to better subject the rest of the nation to the sort of violence necessary to perpetuate capitalist inequalities and maximize the profits of foreign business.

Nations in the region of focus have followed an antiquated, foreign, and highly

unsuitable developmental paradigm and course. They have been progressively deprived of their traditional cultures. They have been lured by the false promises of what turns out to be an unsustainable lifestyle. They have been robbed of their industrial potential. They have been condemned to truncated and narrow forms of agriculture; sub-proletarized on the global scene. They have been politically manipulated by the metropole. And they have been oppressed by abusive police and military forces and subjected to the haphazard experiments of technocrats. In addition, nations of the regions have also been exposed to foreign forms of education, and continue to be so today. Such exposure has had a very significant impact on the region's contemporary educational realities, trends, and potential.

Education

Historical Perspective

The colonial period marked the beginning of educational problems in the region (Burns, 1977). During that time a dual educational system was implemented under the exclusive control of the Catholic Church. Classical training was reserved for the offspring of exiles; and the other essentially aimed at converting local indigenous populations to Christianity by exposing them to religion and miscellaneous low level skills (Bilbao, 1980; and Winn, 1992). Critical developmentalists contend that this dual system was not designed solely to cater to the different needs of two groups but also to make the two increasingly different: one being groomed to dominate, the other prepared to assume a subjugated position. As explained by Alberto Merani, this system has evolved little since independence:

> In societies where access to power is dependent on wealth

> and not on work, individuals destined to compete in such context must receive an appropriate type of formation. Therefore, Latin American education was always divided, and still is, in first, second, and in some cases third rate. (1983, pp. 29-30)[13]

Critical sources acknowledge the lack of educational change mentioned earlier with regard to the independence era and the period immediately following. During that time emerging governments, all essentially comprised of elites, recognized the obvious merits of colonial education to help maintain their privileged social status. Indeed, as La Belle mentions, the "pattern of elite domination can be seen in a historical examination of how the upper socioeconomic and politically powerful populations in the region have used various forms of education to achieve their goals" (1986, p. vii). Early political independence was marked by the continuation of previous systems still under ecclesiastic control. As pointed out by Burns, "the clergy exerted its influence within the educational system; in almost all of the new countries they monopolized education from the primary school to the university" (1977, p. 107). Later in the nineteenth century some reforms, such as those of Sarmiento in Argentina (Verdevoye, 1963), attempted to establish free, compulsory, laic schooling for the entire population. Despite their laudable orientations and the many positive ideas they promoted, these reforms were never truly successful in their time and, with scant exceptions, never amounted to much in practice. The socio-political climates in which they unfolded were simply not propitious for such ideas to become popular at the time (Mantovani, 1963).

Eventually, as time went by compulsory, free, laic education, was adopted, and still exists today throughout Latin America, parallel with forms of schooling under the control

of the Church. Although this dual laic/religious system exists in virtually all nations considered in the present study, slight regional variations, out of the scope of the present discussion, can be encountered throughout the region. Nevertheless, regardless of the era discussed, local educational systems have always had the tendency to reproduce the ideologies of dominant groups. For critical developmentalists, therefore, school has always been an ideal socializing instrument to adapt the masses to the present and future needs of the elites (Torres, 1990). As mentioned by Merani,

> In Latin America, the dominant class does not limit itself to inflicting direct damage to the masses it strips of everything -- a fact manifested in their misery, but it also hurts the entire continent since it mortgages the future of coming generations, the alienation of which is already programmed before they are born, via the education it prepares for them. (1983, p. 61)[14]

As such, educational systems perpetuate *ad infinitum* domination and dependency instead of fulfilling the many promises of empowerment, freedom, equality, and social transformation contained in the various national constitutions elaborated shortly after independence. Historically, then, as summarized by Luis Prieto Figueroa,

> Our educational organization had enslaving beginnings, in the encomiendas and under the authority of the missionaries who attempted to christianize the indians to incorporate them -- already tamed -- in the exploitation of a continent which was the source of production for the conquering nations, and which could not be exploited without slave labour. ... While industrialization in Europe and the United States annihilated illiteracy and fostered popular culture, ... the lack of culture prospered in our America. School was, from its very beginnings, an organization catering to privileged classes who could pay to educate their children. Being a form of education for a class who found manual work to be despicable, it formed a parasitic intellectual class

> who lived at the expense of those toiling for them in haciendas or mines. (1980, p. 9)[15]

Contemporary Realities

Today, local educational systems still serve their primary purpose of social control and allocation by deliberately protracting and institutionalizing inequalities and legitimizing social status-quo (La Belle, 1986). Indeed, as pointed out by Merani,

> in our Latin American situation, we start by developing in a prepared social context, dominated by power relations, and as soon as the child is able to act on his own, independent from adults, the dialectic of power and ignorance creates -- through the education it provides -- harmony between the student and itself, ... [education] is a means and instrument to consolidate [The] power. (1983, p. 34-35)[16]

These systems are divisive and multiple-tiered (Torres, 1987). Their offerings are irrelevant to the local needs of the masses (Prieto Figueroa, 1980). And, although claiming to be free and compulsory, in the First World sense of the words they are not truly so for their clienteles (Merani, 1983).

Upper-classes, comprised of those financially and racially privileged (qualifiers excluding, by definition, Indians and Blacks), still frequent the best educational establishments and get the *best* type of education available locally (Prieto Figueroa, 1980; and Reisig, 1974). This education for which they pay is currently a mixture of classical (retained from the past) and North American (neo-dependent) curricula (Merani, 1983). Better schools, since they charge a considerable fee, are customarily better equipped, employ better qualified teachers and maintain their premises in better physical shape. The education received in such institutions is elitist, and inculcates in its graduates an

unequivocal sense of superiority, an attitude considered indispensable for the future positions they will hold in society. As such, elite schooling assigns clients to elite positions. In the words of Prieto Figueroa,

> What characterizes an aristocratic or elitist education, is the intention to create -- with the small financially- or racially-privileged nuclei -- instruments to control the power exercised over an ignorant mass. (1980, p. 58)[17]

This orientation starts at the elementary school level and continues throughout the secondary and tertiary systems. Aside from imparting a superior attitude and exposing students to better education as a whole, the general climate of such institutions also promotes affective and cognitive development in those fortunate enough to attend them (Reisig, 1974).

Mass education, like elite education, has changed little in spite of now being compulsory and free. Curricula cover materials largely irrelevant to popular needs: they maintain their obsolete academic orientation and turn to the past rather than to the present or the future (Prieto Figueroa, 1980; and Reisig, 1976). Public schooling which heralds patriotism, glorious pasts, blind respect for the authority, trust in guidance from above and an understanding of the superiority of ruling classes shapes its clients for the subordinate social roles they will assume when they grow up. As mentioned by Galeano in discussing Latin America's unconditional veneration for past and tradition, "the right chooses to talk about the past because it prefers dead people; a quiet world, a quiet time. The powerful who legitimize their privileges by heredity cultivate nostalgia" (1973, p. 288).

In countries with a high percentage of indigenous students such as Bolivia,

Ecuador, and Peru classes are taught in Spanish while many students, especially those from rural or urban-migrant extraction, only speak Quechua, Aymara, or other indian languages. This linguistic aspect of education places many rural students in a very weak position to successfully perform academically (Schuh & Angeli-Schuh, 1989).

Although limited benefits from compulsory, free education can be observed in urban areas, the relationship continues between social class and the type of schooling received. Rural populations, however, are not in a position to take full advantage of it (Prieto Figueroa, 1980; Reisig, 1974; Todaro, 1986; and Schiefelbein, 1979). In the most disadvantaged rural areas in the region, attendance is so poor that the bulk of pupils have the greatest difficulties successfully completing lower elementary grades (Reisig, 1974), this despite schooling being compulsory and free. As mentioned by Schuh & Angeli-Schuh, "what is striking is the very low percentage of rural population that completes even the first year of formal schooling" (1989, p. 22). The problem is related to the cost of sending children to school. Hidden costs effectively prevent children of poor parents from receiving the most modest education. The loss of child income, travel to and from school, clothing, supplies, meals, books, etc. are simply too expensive for poor parents to afford, and since most poor families are rural, Latin America's rural areas are most direly hit by this reality (Ibid).

Considering the many non-educational obstacles faced by non-elite students (of all ages), it is extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible, for them to achieve a significant degree of social mobility via education (Merani, 1983). In addition, those lower class students completing school successfully do not benefit from the powerful social networks

available to elite graduates. Consequently, such students find it very difficult to secure a position comparable to that which a more socially privileged individual would attain, regardless of their academic standing and/or professional experience. At times, even securing employment related to their training can prove to be a challenge in itself. This situation is pointed out by Antonio Santoni Rúgiu who mentions that

> A qualified person, an individual with a diploma, a person trained, is all these things, but only -- so-to-speak -- in a misleading fashion if he/she cannot exercise, or derive gratification from the activity for which he/she should have been qualified, certified, or trained. (Biasutto, 1984, p. 83)[18]

Critical scholars stress the necessity of considering education in a broader social context rather than as a simple issue of curriculum, number of schools and quality of teachers existing in isolation from other societal aspects. For them education must be viewed against the total realities in which students live. Such position is clearly expressed by Merani who reminds his readers that "the first reality facing the educator is the whole concrete person, defined by economic, social, political, and cultural circumstances" (1983, p. 20)[19].

The Role of Foreign Educational Assistance

Considering the penchant exhibited by *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists against foreign meddling in Latin American affairs, it is not surprising that they consider foreign assistance to be detrimental. In fact, many believe that international aid, especially as doled out by agencies, is a tool deliberately and skilfully used by the nations of the North (and the *yanquis* in particular) to keep the region in a subjugated position. As mentioned by Cheryl Payer in her discussion of the World Bank,

"One of the most serious indictments of the World Bank, and the developed capitalist governments which support and control it, is that it consistently uses its considerable financial resources to block the forces of progressive change" (1982, p. 358).

Foreign assistance, in *dependentistas'* opinion, is an ideal mechanism to implement and expand the forms of dependency discussed earlier. Understandably, educational assistance is perceived by the same critical observers to be just another way in which DCs attempt to control LDCs, for it is simply "top-down domination of most educational activities ... [following] the pattern of dependency on the ideas and resources of individuals and countries outside the region" (La Belle, 1986, p. x).

Educational Solutions from the North

As mentioned in Chapters I, II, and III, increasing international competition within the framework of global capitalism as well as the low economic development of the region have prompted local governments to seek a solution to their problem by applying traditional modern developmental solutions originated in the North. In this context, experts from DCs and local leaders have attempted to assist Latin America with modernization strategies discussed in Chapters II and III. Practical education and the creation of human capital supported by international assistance were essential parts of such tactics.

Critical developmentalists perceive such attempts to be ineffective and undesirable, for, in addition to relying on foreign-devised educational and developmental paradigms, they convert local education into the panacea described by Merani in the following terms:

Our educational myth is an action which mixes, in the same

> imaginary representation, the benefits of literacy, technology, gods, demiurges and heroes of the capitalist world, to link itself to some sort of static period which originated with the industrial revolution (1983, p. 15)[20].

Educational problems in the region are identified, articulated, and communicated to the world at large by local elites in the respective governments. As such, what is understood by agencies to be the educational needs of South America is simply the perception of such needs by local elites. At best, this perception suffers from the unavoidable flaws inherent in any interpretive process; at worse, it is deliberately distorted by those in power to further solidify their privileged position and benefit from the aid process, the existing crises, and the misery of others (Galeano, 1973).

For critical scholars, therefore, a fundamental drawback of classical multilateral assistance, in education and other fields, is that it is unavoidably brokered by local elites; to make matters worse, these elites are often foreign-educated and share developmental paradigms wholeheartedly promoted by DCs' major agencies. The high degree of affinity existing between local elites and agencies' personnel is clearly articulated by A. A. Fatouros in his discussion of local civil servants associated with the World Bank:

> they are often imbued with the approach and point of view of the Bank, they think in the same terms as Bank officials, they use the same economic and other techniques that the Bank uses and are thus peculiarly receptive to the Bank's arguments and positions ... Their perception coincide with the Bank's because the outlook (and the interests) of such elites are closely tied to the Bank and to the forces and ideas the Bank represents. (Payer, 1982, p. 83)

Furthermore, imported forms of education do not take into account, to a sufficient degree, the fact that the very pedagogical / andragogical underpinnings on which they rest

are those of the North. In the Third World realities are perceptibly different (Todaro, 1986), and the cultural, physiological, cognitive and affective needs of populations requiring education (consisting largely of rural poor and urban marginals) are a world apart from those of northern popular classes for which these pedagogical / andragogical techniques were initially devised (Merani, 1983; Reisig, 1974; and Torres, 1987, 1990).

Educational solutions proposed within the framework of international assistance are rejected by *dependentistas* and critical scholars for, instead of solving the numerous inherent educational and social difficulties presently plaguing Latin America -- as their proponents claim they will -- they simply compound them. Critical sources claim DCs' suggestions will lead to further social division and increase the dependency of the region on nations of the North.

Practical Forms of Education and Related Issues

Critical scholars, fully aware of the economic, cultural, social, and political differences existing between societies of the industrialized world and those of Latin America, view the introduction of practical education in the region as being an inadequate replacement for the present obsolete and ineffective systems of colonial origins. As mentioned in Chapter II, recommended forms of education within contemporary foreign assistance are highly practical, and customarily comprise technical / vocational, non-formal, as well as adult education.

Who benefits?

According to critical sources, such forms of education might, indeed, fuel the assembly lines of MNCs and TNCs in the region, thereby ultimately providing DC

capitalist enterprises and their local subsidiaries with trained manpower (Merani, 1983), but it is unlikely that they will bring social, political, or economic benefit to the masses. As mentioned by Ludovici, such educational efforts

> are not thought of or devised as parts of a total strategy ... resting on a theory of transformation toward a new society. In reality, [they] limit themselves to proposing an adaptation of educational structures, already weak and in crisis, to the objective demands of an unmodified socio-economic system. (1984, pp. 105-106)[21]

This concern is also clearly expressed by Luis Reisig who points out that technical education "benefits the industries that support it, but this is not a sufficient guarantee that a social service is in fact derived from this type of education" (1974, p. 67)[22]. As such, *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists see these forms of education as further refinements in the implementation of world division of labour, for they condemn the local working class to menial jobs located at the lowest levels of the international occupational hierarchy (Baez, 1986; and Galeano, 1973).

In terms of benefits, educational assistance is also questionable, for it might come with many strings attached, and the receiving government often finds itself faced with additional expenses and /or involved with the donor nation to a higher degree than expected. Indeed,

> the granting of special loans for education is sometimes conditional upon acquisition of educational hardware which is produced only by the industrialized countries. Furthermore, the acquisition of specific equipment may lead to a dependency upon replacement parts or compatible products. Finally, the introduction of new equipment may require resources from the national budget. (Corvalán Vasquez, 1977, p. 75)

Participation in Decision-Making

Doubt exists as to who ultimately benefits from the implementation of practical education, the global capitalist system or the client, since those customarily identified as official beneficiaries have little participation at any stage of the decision-making process (Hurabielle, 1990, 1991). The locus of decision is generally with paternalistic local governments made up of national elites, and international agencies acting on behalf of industrialized nations and foreign finance (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Payer, 1982; and Todaro, 1986). Without active participation in project selection and definition, designated beneficiaries exhibit little ownership of the idea; scant interest in supporting it, and even less inclination in sharing the *official* enthusiasm customarily surrounding such an endeavour. Such reaction is not unique to the region, of course, for a similar lack of response usually characterizes non-participatory forms of Third World assistance (Cassen *et al*, 1986).

Formal Practical Education

As already discussed, the region exhibits a strong historical preference for formal academic education which has historically enabled some form of social mobility, albeit limited. This propensity does not show, even today, any sign of weakening (Bilbao, 1980; Brock, 1985; and Schiefelbein, 1979). This orientation, over the years, has led to

> the idea that traditional and technological education are designed for different populations. The first one was designed, and still is, for the best clientele of the middle- and upper- class, while the clientele of the second consists of workers and the children of workers (Reisig, 1974, p. 67)[23]

Therefore, practical education programs continue to enjoy little popularity. People are reluctant to frequent "specialized professional schools in which the fate of the student and his future activity are predetermined" (Santoni Rúgiu, 1984, p. 89)[24]: the fact that such programs might be internationally assisted remains irrelevant. Although formal technical and vocational education yield, upon completion, some form of official certification, the credentials so obtained do not compare favourably to those granted by more socially prestigious forms of education (Torres, 1987, 1990). Therefore, these credentials fail to contribute significantly to social mobility. This difference is not, of course, accidental, for as pointed out by Emilio Ludovici,"the school system in the capitalist society always had the tendency to keep people in their original social places" (1984, p. 103)[25] . Consequently, the social rewards of investing in practical education are quite low, and graduates of such systems still feel very much to be the *parents pauvres* of education. This is especially true considering the highly *credencialista* climate characteristic of Latin America. Their feeling is reflected by the prevailing attitude of employers who place little value on credentials obtained via formal technical / vocational education, a fact commented on by Corvalán Vasquez who reports that practical education's "diplomas are not highly regarded in the productive system, as reflected by limited employment opportunities, low level of income, and little opportunity to progress" (1980, p. 9). The thrust witnessed in technical / vocational education has not been accompanied, in the region of focus, by an appropriate increase in occupational opportunities. This situation has created a severe mismatch which undermines the validity of proposed remedies, and leads to sizable rates of unemployment and underemployment (Ibid).

Unexpected Outcome

Generally, practical education programs in Latin America are notorious for attracting individuals with comparatively lower academic abilities than those frequenting academic establishments. These programs become, therefore, resting places for the least promising students (Gomes Pereira *et al*, 1986). At the other end of the academic ability spectrum, technical / vocational education is also used as a stepping stone by bright students of low economic means (Corvalán Vasquez, 1980). Such individuals pursue technical and vocational studies, not to work in their field of specialty, but instead to gain access to higher levels and different forms of education in the future. These levels and forms are congruent with classical and academic careers, the general educational propensity of Latin American societies, the employment realities in the region, and the high levels of credentialism (Ibid). This situation is clearly identified by Gallart who, in her discussion of technical education in Argentina, points to the fact that "Technical education is faced with the reality of being an education of masses, the students of which want to obtain -- simultaneously -- credentials giving them access to the work market, and a background allowing them to pursue further studies at the university." (1990, p. 89)[26]. In such context, therefore, practical schooling, instead of providing graduates with specific, terminal training for the workforce, often becomes the back door entrance to non-practical avenues of further education.

Non-Formal and Adult Education

Forms of practical education thus far discussed are delivered in a traditional, formal setting; that is they are organized like any other form of schooling. They are of

several years duration, yield official credentials and are customarily aimed at a clientele of a relatively young age who have successfully completed previous levels of education at the elementary, and secondary level (at least junior high equivalent). Technical and vocational education represents, therefore, alternate educational routes available to mainstream students who, for one reason or another, decide not to pursue academic studies (Gomes Pereira *et al,* 1986). Non-formal and adult education, however, in addition to being of a practical nature like the forms discussed above, exhibit noticeably different characteristics.

Contrary to formal technical and vocational education, non-formal and adult education are not designed to cater to mainstream students, nor is it customarily organized in the orderly fashion found in formal education. It usually features considerably shorter programs and is characterized by a much narrower scope of study / training. It does not yield comparable forms of certification. Budgets are generally lower and both students and future employers treat them with suspicion. Customarily, they do not attract the highest calibre of educators.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter III, non-formal and adult education is designed and implemented to minimize the impact of Latin America's educational realities on its population and its economy. These programs have been created to offset the ill effects of insufficient coverage by traditional systems, to increase the level of proficiency of the workforce, to permit direct graduate access to low-skill occupations, to provide some sort of *schooling* to the many who, when they were younger, never had an opportunity to be educated (La Belle, 1986; and Torres, 1987), and to do so by "providing instructional services at a quite low cost per student hour" (Corvalán Vasquez, 1977, p. 88).

By definition, therefore, non-formal and adult education rarely applies to the very young, the previously schooled, or members of the middle- and upper-classes. Consequently, their clientele, as mentioned by Torres (1987), is characterized by a low level of previous education (sometimes none), extremely low socio-economic level and status, a marked dissociation from the universe of the school, possible communication problems(Schuh & Angeli-Schuh, 1985), and the fact that, in addition to enrolling in non-formal and adult programs, they must also successfully meet the daily challenges of survival under less-than-ideal conditions (Bilbao, 1980). As such, non-formal and adult education have a very definite political aspect. Indeed, in Latin America, such programs are generally designed

> to confront the political and social demands of the powerless and impoverished sectors ... However, State interventionism tends to be oriented toward strengthening the legitimacy of the current ruling alliance as a prerequisite to sustaining a given pattern of capital accumulation (Torres, 1987, p. 12).

Such orientation, naturally, imposes definite guidelines and places severe limitations on the potential transformative effect of the programs in question.

Although most non-formal and adult education programs (and certainly those considered in the scope of the present discussion) are organized and delivered in a structured manner, they often fall considerably short of meeting the level of organization and structure found in formal education and, as a result, "the lack of rigour and systematization prevent the new options from transcending their subordinated position" (Biasutto, 1978, p. 17)[27]. This difference can be attributed to factors such as: relatively low importance and priority given by local ministries of education and their academically-

trained bureaucrats to these sorts of programs (Torres, 1987); comparatively low budget allocated to this type of education (Bilbao, 1980); the lower professional calibre of teachers involved, the fact that such programs depend on the use of facilities to which they do not necessarily have priority access; and to the very nature of their clientele.

Considering the productive and remedial focus of non-formal and adult education as well as the difficulty for the clientele to make long-term educational commitments, these programs are often of short duration and are generally aimed at providing a low level of skills. As described by Luis Reisig "in Latin America, adult education limited itself to teaching how to perform the four fundamental arithmetic operations, and to read and write; its program never exceeded the level of a third or fourth grade of elementary school" (1974, p. 79)[28]. Typically, programs do not exceed a few weeks or a few months in length. Understandably, the combination of short duration and low level of training impacts negatively on the sort of credentials granted by such programs (La Belle, 1986; and Torres, 1987). The seriousness of this issue is clearly expressed by Oscar Corvalán Vasquez who remarked that,

> One critical aspect of the relationship between formal and non-formal education is validation by the former of studies undertaken by a student in the latter. This point is important because of the way graduates of the non-formal educational system may have to face the labour market. If they are discriminated against for not possessing the right credentials, then the solution of providing non-formal education instead of regular education is incomplete. (1977, pp. 61-62)

Budget-wise, non-formal and adult education are not as well funded as the rest of education (and it was already mentioned elsewhere in this study that education budgets in

the region are notoriously insufficient as it is). Most of the time such programs are thought of and financed as mere inconsequential additions to the rest of the educational system. This reality is pointed out by Corvalán Vasquez who states outright that "non-formal education is not generally viewed as a real 'substitute' for the formal structure, but as a marginal appendage or supplement" (1977, p. 88). Bilbao reminds his readers that, in Ecuador, "the budget for adult education was minimal" (1980, p. 95)[29] and that "extra-scholar education clearly had a secondary importance" (Ibid)[30]. The resulting lack of funds has, naturally, dire consequences for any serious attempt at designing, implementing, and delivering successful non-formal and adult programs. Torres attributes the marginal role and low budgets of such forms of education, and of adult education in particular, to the fact that

> Adult education lacks correspondence with the model of capital accumulation and has little utility for the model of political domination. Additionally, adult education's clientele is socially fragmented, politically disorganized and weak, and economically insignificant in Latin American societies. (1990, p. 33)

Because such programs are not looked upon favourably by their potential beneficiaries (Torres, 1987), and are viewed with suspicion by the industry (Gallart, 1990), while poorly financed by the very governments who run them (Bilbao, 1980; and Corvalán Vasquez, 1977), it should not be surprising if they fail to attract high calibre teachers. This reality, however, has very profound consequences for adult and non-formal training, for, considering the scant academic background and daily realities of their clientele, they seem to require better-than-average educators to function properly.

In the context described above, practical education will promote a few to higher forms of education (as a stepping stone), but it will allocate the majority of its graduates to the lower occupational strata of society, condemning them to social and occupational immobility (Reisig, 1974). Therefore, practical education "is at the same time a security valve and an effective form of selection which consolidates -- making it more flexible -- the system of class division in society" (Corda Costa & Visalberghi, 1978, p. 199)[32]. As such, education-for-production, although undoubtedly appealing to the international and local capitalist communities, lacks any potential transformative value to be of any lasting benefit to the masses of South America.

Summary

As it was initially designed to do, Chapter IV presented the reader with a response to research question #6. As such, it focused on the perception and presentation of developmental and educational efforts by critical parties. In this chapter it was found that for *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists, aid and practical education recommended by the traditional school of development are perceived to be inappropriate for the region. They are the dominant groups' diluted response to the plight of the masses for more schooling; they purposely further class division and accentuate regional dependency on the North which further entraps the region of focus in the hierarchical capitalist world structures and global division of labour. As a viable alternative to DC-inspired strategies, it was discovered that critical groups propose empowering and transformative education, thereby giving aid and educational assistance a decidedly broader social focus instead of a purely economic one.

CHAPTER V -- TRADITIONAL AND CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES DISCUSSION

Introduction

Chapter V consists of a discussion of the perspectives presented and investigated in Chapters III and IV. It is written to specifically address the issues raised in research question #7, that is, "do the traditional and critical views differ in terms of philosophies, goals, expectations, and if so, why and on what point?". This chapter starts with a comparison and discussion of the two schools of thought along the eleven themes introduced and described in Chapter II, themes appearing in the analytical matrix shown in Appendix D. This step, accounting for roughly the first half of Chapter V, is then followed by the second half entitled "A Personal Perception of the Two Perspectives". This second part allows the researcher to take the work one step further and share his ideas, feelings, and perceptions with the reader, thereby adding a more personal dimension to Chapter V.

Before proceeding with a detailed discussion of both perspectives, it is important to reiterate that the researcher has had extensive field experience in the region. At times, this experience is extremely difficult to dissociate from the research process. Since both this research and the researcher himself are products of theoretical exposure and practical experience, these will be drawn upon, and clearly identified as such, in the last section of this chapter under the title "A Personal Perception of the Two Perspectives". Instances where personal field experience is mentioned will be strictly limited to those exhibiting an unusual departure from facts and theories covered in the literature: these possibly require

further investigation and additional study. Also, examples from the author's experience that dramatically corroborate the information in the review will be included.

Economic Development and Means to Achieve It

It is interesting to note that, for both traditional and critical developmentalist, economic development is essentially linked to, and expressed by, the level of industrialization achieved (Baer, 1984; Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; Chilcote, 1984; Cole, 1987; and Weaver 1980). As such, a country is deemed to be developed if it exhibits an advanced degree of industrialization, with industrialization being largely judged by Western standards (Von Laue, 1987). Both perspectives make reference to the international economic order (George 1976, 1989, 1992; Inter American Development Bank, 1984, 1988, 1992; and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1980), and draw attention to the fact that the region discussed in this study has a low level of development. This is, however, where similarities concerning development and the regional lack of it end.

As discussed in Chapter III, traditional sources attribute the lack of development to inherent deficiencies found in local societies (Baechler, 1976; Lerner, 1958; Lipset, 1985; Martin, 1983; McClelland, 1967, 1969; Parsons, 1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985; Rosenberg & Birdzell, 1986; and Solari, 1964). From their perspective, such deficiencies, apparently not found in contemporary developed nations, can be overcome by adopting appropriate measures and strategies. Such measures and strategies are the objects of foreign assistance (Inter American Development Bank, 1984; and World Bank, 1990b, 1991), a process whereby DCs assist LDCs along the road to economic, social, and

political development using western paradigms (roads DCs themselves have travelled in their historical evolution from traditional to modern societies). Foremost in western models, are the concepts of modernization (Eisenstadt, 1966) and the need for education/training to create human capital (Harbison, 1973; Harbison & Myers, 1964; Meier, 1978; and Schultz, 1963, 1981, 1989). This education/training has as its main objectives the imparting of skills required by modern sectors; these facilitate modernization and industrialization processes. This education and training exposes its clientele to modern values and beliefs thereby ushering in behavioral changes in the workforce (Lipset, 1985; McClelland, 1967, 1969; and Parsons, 1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985). For traditionalists, modernization and industrialization that follows the evolutionary process of DCs will permit successful integration of Latin America in the global economic arena (Inter American Development Bank, 1981, 1984a, 1984b, 1988, 1992; and World Bank 1990b, 1991).

From the outset of colonization to the umbrella of international assistance, critical developmentalists view western influence as the cause of the lack of economic, social and political development in the region (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Galeano, 1973; and Merani, 1983). Lack of development, therefore, far from being attributable to internal deficiencies inherent in Latin America, is produced by historical and contemporary factors of an external nature (Aguilar-Paredes, 1980; Burns, 1977; Crow, 1992; Cubitt, 1988; Friedman, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1988; Fuentes, 1985; Swift, 1978; Weaver, 1980; and Winn, 1992). In this context foreign aid is simply an expedient and relatively palatable means of continuing the task started under classical colonization, and is, therefore, an obstacle to

local development rather than an element contributing to it. For critical developmentalists, the key to development is to be found in the achievement of economic, political, cultural, technological, and intellectual independence from DCs, and in the implementation of actions based on indigenous paradigms (Frank, 1967; and Friedman, 1986). Foremost in the critical perspective is the notion of direct participation of the region in the design, implementation, and maintenance of measures leading to progress in the aforementioned areas. Understandably, then, critical developmentalists aim at the liberation and empowerment of Latin America and wholeheartedly condemn its increasing reliance on foreign solutions. To them such liberation and empowerment cannot be achieved in the context of the current international economic order, which they perceive to be unacceptably biased in favour of DCs (Adams, 1991; Fajnzylber, 1990; George, 1976, 1989, 1992; Jackson, 1990; and Raffert, 1987). In their opinion further integration in this order will aggravate underdevelopment in the region and, at the other end of the spectrum, enhance development in the North (thereby maintaining its privileged economic position) (Galeano, 1973; and Merani, 1983). According to *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists it is not surprising if DCs and their agencies and organizations go to greatest length possible to sell to local governments the concept of global integration.

Historical Factors

Both perspectives consider some historical factors in their discussion of development in the region. These factors, however, are either not the same ones, or, when the same, are usually interpreted in different manners. In this context traditionalists are deficiency-oriented, while critical sources pay more attention to structural constraints,

and their evolution through time. As such, traditionalists perceive the hispanic Catholic heritage to have fostered, in Latin America, a quasi-medieval climate where individuals and societies are characterized by traits and propensities detrimental to modern development. In contrast, they present DCs' Protestant orientation as a significant factor in the development of desirable characteristics, in the establishment of more progressive societies and political organization, and in the development of early capitalism (Lipset, 1985; McClelland, 1967, 1969; and Parsons, 1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985).

Critical sources also make mention of the role the Catholic Church may have played in the historical evolution of Latin America. However, their interpretation is somewhat different for it stresses the role the Church had in furthering the domination process in the region. For critical developmentalists, the Catholic Church is not discussed so much in terms of having fostered a climate detrimental to the establishment and evolution of capitalism. It is rather approached in terms of how well the Church supported and bolstered the process of colonization, and of how ideal an instrument it proved to be to further social division and legitimize the domination of the many by the few. From the critical perspective, the Cross was instrumental in the destruction of local cultures, in the implementation of mass obedience, and in the creation of highly hierarchical post-colombian societies (Aguilar-Paredes, 1980; Crow, 1992; Fuentes, 1985; and Galeano, 1973).

Land-tenure and associated agricultural practices are also historical themes common to both developmental perspectives. Respective emphasizes are, however, perceptibly different. On the one hand, traditionalists lament the "feudal" land-tenure

system imported from Spain in the early days of the conquest and still found today in many areas of Latin America. Their criticisms centre largely around the inefficient and obsolete practices associated with the agricultural exploitation of large domains (Schuh & Angeli-Schuh, 1989). Their contemporary criticisms also encompass the ill-effects of poor agricultural diversification, the limited scope of production and the low level of skills of rural workers (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; Inter American Development Bank, 1981; and Schuh & Angeli-Schuh, 1989).

Although critical sources clearly acknowledge and lament the existence of the old Spanish land structure, they concentrate their comments more on the individual and social consequences of the tenure system rather than on its pure economic aspects (Benalcázar-Pabón, 1988; Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; Martinez, 1987; Swift, 1978; and Weaver, 1980). From the critical point of view, the system is unjust and abusive as well as inefficient (Martinez, 1987; Taussig, 1991). Land-tenure and associated agricultural practices in the region have not changed perceptibly since the conquest. They contribute to the maintenance of socio-economic *status-quo* within the prevailing national, regional, and international framework (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; Martinez, 1987; and Swift, 1978). In the existing land-tenure context, the rural workforce does not have access to sufficient land to ensure its own subsistence and, as a result, has to work for below-poverty wages, while the *patrón* (boss) continues to amass wealth and acquire more land (Martinez, 1987; Taussig, 1991).

For the critical developmentalist, the lack of diversification and the obsolescence of agricultural practices are largely due to the nature of the international market. *Rentier*

landowners and foreign companies, both pursuing high gains based on as low an investment as possible, respond to the specific and limited demands of a world market (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; and Swift, 1978). For critical developmentalists, lack of diversification is due, therefore, to the pursuit of personal profit rather than national interest and not to some obscure local deficiency in paradigm, technique, skills, or technology, all of which traditionalists claim to solve in the framework of international assistance. Rural manpower is deliberately kept at a low level of skills; its mere abundance and the obsolete practices of the sort conducted in large domains do not require the worker to function much above the level of *peón* (Benalcázar-Pabón, 1988; Martinez, 1987; and Prieto-Figueroa, 1980).

Traditional sources generally perceive the advent of British mercantilism and capitalism in Latin America to be a historical step relieving the hemisphere from the feudal Spanish commercial system, a step coinciding with the achievement of political independencies in the region (Crow, 1992). From that perspective, British capitalism helped usher Latin America into the *modern* world, albeit somewhat later than other regions of the globe. South America was considered, from then on, an active and equal partner in global economy.

Although that era is also clearly identified as being a major transition by the critical developmentalist, it is generally painted as a period when the region went from bad to worse (Winn, 1992). Far from introducing desirable socio-economic changes, this historical time witnessed the hardening of colonial practices under the auspices of a nascent, but distorted, local capitalism in the hands of *criollo* elites. These elites were

responsible for the surfeit degree of internal colonialism plaguing the region. This perverted metamorphosis of the early 1800's set the region's social, political, and economic stage. In addition, the thwarting, in the name of British interests, of early indigenous attempts at development marked the beginning of dependency as it presently exists (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; and Swift, 1978). Devoid of productive capacity, Latin America, as it continues to do today, had to turn to Britain and other DCs for its commodities, technologies, and refined goods, while supplying raw materials at low cost, to the North (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; and Swift, 1978).

A later evolution in Latin America's history, which is only discussed in a focussed and limited fashion by traditional developmentalists, is that of North American emergence. Post-war (WW II) preponderance of the United States as a major economic and political power is mentioned by traditionalists in terms of its relationship to international assistance, for in light of its great economic success and advanced level of democratization, that nation soon became expert in, and champion of, modern development (Burns, 1977; and Todaro, 1986). This leading role was so wholeheartedly recognized in the global arena that a number of international development and assistance agencies were created by, and based in the U.S.A. (Payer, 1982). For traditionalists, therefore, it is clear that the United States has played a key role in international development since the fall of the Third Reich. The process started with the provision of assistance to a recovering Europe. The U.S. development paradigms, funding schemes, techniques and strategies were eventually exported, with or without modification, to the Third World and to Latin America in particular. From a traditional perspective, such international assistance has proved to be

beneficial to both donor and recipient nations and is considered to be, in fact, indispensable to developmental progress in the region discussed in this study (Inter American Development Bank, 1981, 1984, 1988, 1992; and World Bank 1974, 1990a, 1990b, 1991).

The evolution mentioned above is perceived quite differently by the critical developmentalist school. The emergence of the U.S. as a world leader in economic development marked another crisis in the dependency of Latin America on the First World (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; and Winn, 1992). Since WW II the old model of dependency on Britain has been replaced by the more refined, more systematized, more pervasive one of North America. Not only has this new dependency taken a more pronounced degree, but it has also affected virtually all aspects of life in the region. For critical developmentalists, ever-increasing U.S. hegemony over the Third World is facilitated by the very tools and strategies traditionalists herald: international funding, assistance, technology, and education (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Carnoy, 1974; Chomsky, 1989; and Tomlinson, 1991). For *dependentistas*, foreign aid in general, and U.S. assistance in particular, is another efficient tool for effecting neo-colonization and certainly not an element contributing to local progress.

Post-Independence Political Evolution

Both traditionalists and critical developmentalists admit that Latin America's post-independence political evolution is peculiar in comparison to post-revolutionary achievements observed in countries such as France or the United States. Both schools of thought recognize that wars of independence in the region were characterized by a strong

criollo and elitist orientation rather than a grass roots one. Beyond these shared observations, however, opinions and speculations concerning the causes of such evolution differ widely between the two perspectives. Traditionalists point out that Latin America, due to its Spanish origins, had no exposure to nor experience in democracy or the traditional parliamentary tradition (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; Crow, 1992; and McClelland 1967, 1969). Such deficiencies gave way, therefore, to a political climate characterized by internal power struggles, authoritarianism, and instability. By comparison, countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, having benefited from Britain's mature political philosophy, settled for parliamentary and democratic regimes and became stable much more rapidly (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; Crow, 1992; and McClelland 1967, 1969). As is perceived to be the case in the economic sphere, traditionalists view international assistance as a perfect vehicle to introduce, foster, implement, and support democratic regimes in the region. Furthermore, the traditionalist school considers economic development, modernization, and education, to be essential pre-requisites to successful democratization along U.S. lines.

Critical developmentalists put more emphasis on the role played by the *criollo's* elitist control of local independencies than traditionalists do, for aside from recognizing that such control was a reality in the 1820's, they also stress that under the new regimes *criollos* deliberately perpetuated and refined the many socio-political divisions existing under Spanish colonialism (Burns, 1977; Cubitt, 1988; Galeano, 1973; and Swift, 1978). In fact, the new regimes are considered to have been instrumental in institutionalizing and legitimizing Latin America's social, political, and economic inequalities to benefit the new

ruling classes. In addition, critical sources stress the importance of the United States in shaping later political realities in the region in order to serve the interests of its business community (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; and Gott, 1984).

A significant reason why the post-independence political evolution of the region is atypical, according to *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists, is that it has suffered uninterruptedly from active foreign intervention. First Britain, then the U.S. did all they could to preserve their privileged economic, political, and strategic positions (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; Gott, 1984; Swift, 1978, and Winn, 1992). To maintain high profits, to control labour, to satisfy the global markets, and to please its local intermediaries, the North (and the United States in particular) deliberately fostered *friendly* authoritarian regimes which were supported by militarization and sophisticated control/terror apparatuses. In addition, the instruments of militarization and terror were generally DC supplied (Baez, 1986; Gott, 1984; and Woodby and Cottam, 1988). From such a perspective, therefore, foreign involvement is viewed with extreme suspicion and often denounced by *dependentistas* as a cover-up for western penetration and manipulation of local politics (Baez, 1986; Burns, 1977; and Galeano, 1973). The critical developmentalists' view is that such involvement, instead of bringing about political stability and democratization (as claimed by traditionalists), denies by its very terms and mechanics such evolutionary process to the region.

The Issue of Generic Foreign Assistance

In this section, foreign assistance will be treated generically, keeping the specific discussion of educational aid for a separate section. Opinions differ greatly between

traditionalists and *dependentistas* concerning the value, merit, purpose, and achievement of international aid. For the first group, which typically comprises donors and policy-makers, not only is such assistance beneficial, but it is also quasi-indispensable if the region is to ever develop. In other words, traditionalists suspect that Latin America will never be able to develop (that is, to modernize and industrialize along western paradigms) without receiving help from developed nations (Inter American Development Bank, 1981; Todaro, 1986; and World Bank, 1990b, 1991).

To traditionalists, DCs and their agencies are the dispensers of necessary resources, funds, and expertise, all of which are so direly missing in Latin America. Here again, sharing their own developmental experience, DCs can progressively assist the region to overcome its many internal deficiencies. Pivotal to much of this approach is the transfer to the region of measures, strategies, and techniques which have been successful in bringing development to the North (Eisenstadt, 1966; Inter American Development Bank, 1981; and World Bank, 1990b, 1991).

For the second group, made up largely of recipients, foreign aid is quite different from what traditionalists herald it to be. As mentioned earlier, aid generally acts as a tool of penetration and take-over but, in addition it also contributes in other active forms to the crisis experienced by the region. First, it forces onto local nations, and at great costs, developmental models and strategies devised for other countries, other realities, and different historical periods (Baez, 1986; Galeano, 1973; and Seers, 1980). Second, it introduces measures that often prove to be both unsuitable for, or irrelevant to, local realities and needs. These measures are unsustainable given the financial, ecological,

political, and social contexts in which their forced implementation occurs (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Fajnzylber, 1990; and Merani, 1983). Third, international assistance, by its very external nature, establishes and reinforces neo-colonialist and dependency arrangements; the donor being the dominant party, and the recipient the dominated one (Khasbulatov, 1987; and Hayter & Watson, 1984). Fourth, via loan repayment and associated interests, foreign aid also establishes and carefully cultivates a reversed flow of hard currencies from poor countries to rich ones thereby effecting exactly the opposite of what traditionalists claim it achieves (Adams, 1991; and George, 1989, 1992). And fifth, international assistance is also perceived by critical developmentalists, to be a most effective means of altering the very cultural and moral fibres of the region in order to absorb it in the unescapable western consumerism quagmire (Galeano, 1973; and Merani, 1983). Needless to say in light of the foregoing that consummate *dependentistas* are fundamentally opposed to any form of assistance as it presently exists and view DCs' international efforts with utter suspicion.

The Role of Elites

The existence of local elites and their importance is also recognized by both developmentalist groups but, here again, there exists a sizable degree of discrepancy between the two perspectives. Traditionalists customarily entertain a more forgiving image of local elites than do *dependentistas*. For traditionalists, elites are often perceived to be representatives of the region's interests, desires, needs, and will. The affinity existing between DCs, their agencies, and local elites, is grounded in a commonality of developmental paradigms, education, orientation, financial interests, social goals, and

history (Payer, 1982; and Prieto-Figueroa, 1980). As such, traditionalists usually view elites as being more progressive, better educated (invariably in northern institutions), easier to relate to, more receptive to classical economic strategies, more willing to experiment on the global economic scene, better aware of developmental issues, and more *status-quo* (stability) oriented than the rest of the population. Furthermore, as an extra bonus, local elites are generally adamantly opposed to any suspicious socialist / communist tendencies the local populace might develop (Burns, 1977; and Galeano, 1973). In this light, elites are considered by traditionalists to be in a unique position to facilitate regional changes toward modern democratic development (Payer, 1992). In addition, because of their financial capacity and foreign accounts, local elites are also perceived by foreign financiers as valuable customers/investors.

Critical developmentalists and *dependentistas*, on the contrary, generally perceive elites to be one of the more serious curses of Latin America. Elites, in their views, have sold their souls to the *yanquis* and other northerners, effectively becoming their lackeys, and bought into foreign ideas and paradigms to a point where they have lost all senses of their own identity and of national interest (Galeano, 1973; and Merani, 1983). Having established their dominance during colonial times, elites have managed to bolster their privileged position via the independence process and now reinforce it within the framework of international development by diverting the remote potential benefits of foreign aid in their own direction (Galeano, 1973; and Merani, 1983). Elites take advantage of the modernization process, with the tacit approval of agencies and organizations, by acting as official representatives of *national* needs, defining areas to be

financed, swelling local foreign-aid administration apparatuses, and being the only group partaking in national decisions (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Payer, 1992; and Todaro, 1986). In this context, national needs become elites' needs; areas to be financed are those from which elites can derive the largest benefits, or which most effectively block *status-quo* alteration or the social, political, or economic advancement of other classes. For *dependentistas* and critical developmentalists, elites, instead of being instrumental to development as purported by some traditionalists, are very much one of its most serious, active, and entrenched obstacles.

Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture

Commerce, industry, and agriculture are identified as crisis areas by both traditional and critical developmentalists but, as is the case in most other issues, the exact causes to which they attribute such crisis are different. To the traditionalist, problems in all three areas are, once again, internal. Difficulties are experienced due to obsolete practices, old models, narrow focus, pervasive inefficiency at all levels, poor entrepreneurship, backwards sociological inclinations characterizing the occupational scene, lack of adequate funding and inefficient land usage/distribution (Cardoso & Helwege, 1992; Crow, 1992; Lipset, 1985; Pastor, 1990; and Stavenhagen, 1973). In other words, with the notable exception of needed land reforms that traditionalists cannot or will not foster because they challenge the existing order, problems are essentially related to areas where modern foreign assistance can prove to be invaluable. Within its scope old approaches can be discarded, modern practices can be introduced, newer paradigms can be followed, efficiency can be enhanced, western-modelled

entrepreneurship can be fostered, attitudes characterizing the world of work can be modified, and generous financing can easily be provided (Inter American Development Bank, 1981; and World Bank, 1990b, 1991).

Far from sharing such views, critical developmentalists attribute the crisis of Latin American commerce, industry, and agriculture to foreign involvement, past and present. To them, today's predicament in those areas is related to the absence of indigenous efforts in those three domains, an absence forced upon the region by Spanish colonial restrictions, British capitalist domination and manipulation, and later, United States business interests and a military presence (Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; and Merani, 1983). To *dependentistas*, the crisis started long ago when Spain did not permit the development of any sizable industry in its territories of *ultramar*. Later, shortly after independence, nascent local industry was nipped in the bud by the British who, better organized, fully industrialized, and well *en route* toward modern capitalism as it is known today, had no difficulty whatsoever in killing Latin American developmental efforts via a variety of means such as lower prices, preferential tariffs, closed markets, and other machiavellian practices (Furtado, 1978; and Galeano, 1973). Eventually, and especially so after World War II, the United States continued the task so diligently started by Britain.

In this context, and contrary to the widely publicized popular rhetoric, obsolete practices, old models, narrow focus, pervasive inefficiency, and other undesirable developmental characteristics are not inherent or accidental; they were purposely maintained in the region by foreigners and elites conspiring to ensure Latin America would never be able to compete successfully on the international scene and pose a serious threat

to northern commerce, industry, and agriculture (Baez, 1986; Burns, 1977; Galeano, 1973; Khasbulatov, 1987; and Swift, 1978). For *dependentistas*, the lack of developmental success in the region is further used by DCs to legitimize the introduction of the so-called assistance process which, in effect, only permits further foreign capitalist penetration and more complete destruction of indigenous developmental potentials (Baez, 1986; Burns, 1977; and Swift, 1978). In this framework, promising areas of commerce, industry, and agriculture are financed by foreign sources, manipulated away from national control, and progressively absorbed by international capitalism. Other areas, with limited or no potential, are merely abandoned, and left to die (usually at great financial and social costs) in the hands of local entrepreneurs (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Benalcázar Pabón, 1988; Fajnzylber, 1990; Khasbulatov, 1987; Martinez, 1987; and Organization of American States, 1969). When such procedures cannot be followed, indigenous development can also be thwarted by limiting the locals' access to the decision-making process, keeping all significant decisions in the hands of northern donors and condemning local personnel to strictly subaltern roles. This is done by deliberately introducing unsuitable paradigms and strategies, by proposing unsustainable measures which will tax scant local resources, or by purposely under-financing projects thereby ensuring their slow demise (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Galeano, 1973). For critical developmentalists, assistance in the context of commerce, industry, and agriculture results in the absorption of dynamic sectors by foreign capital. It progressively eliminates those sectors which do not offer potential gains to international financiers, or do not contribute or maintain northern dominance (Baez, 1986; Burns, 1977; Fajnzylber, 1990; Galeano, 1973; and

Swift, 1978).

Research and Development

Traditionalists lament the sad state of science, technology, and research and development characterizing Latin America, for, from their perspective, it condemns the region to a back seat in the unprecedented advancement achieved elsewhere in those areas. Considering the deficiency approach traditionalists follow in terms of developmental issues, it is natural that they attribute the present research and development situation experienced in the region to some form of local shortcoming. First, they mention the basic fact that science and technology have not been internalized by Latin America, this principally because of its hispanic and Catholic inheritance. In the local context, they say science and technology are not integral parts of the common socialization process (Dietz & James, 1990; and ECLAC, 1992). Second, as far as they are concerned, local efforts are not sufficient to generate a desirable level of research and development, and scientists, when employed in their specialties, are often filling administrative positions instead of actively conducting research. This confirms the inefficient allocation of talents which characterizes the region. Third, budgets designated for research and development undertakings are not adequate to appropriately support serious efforts (Fajnzylber, 1990). Fourth, Latin America is unable to provide its few scientists with adequate facilities and challenging research. And lastly, the region lacks the necessary technology to embark on worthwhile studies (ECLAC, 1992; and Fajnzylber, 1990).

Viewed in this traditional light, research and development activities can benefit considerably from DCs' assistance. Indeed, traditionalists perceive foreign help to be

instrumental in introducing educational paradigms fostering more complete internalization of science and technology, supplying suitable funds to finance research at an adequate level, providing up-to-date technology to support modern scientific investigation, and giving leading Latin American scientists an opportunity to exercise their talents in joint scientific projects with their colleagues of the North (Cortes & Bocock, 1984; and Dietz & James, 1990).

Development critics and *dependentistas*, however, paint a considerably different picture of the research and development scene. As far as they are concerned funds for these areas are low because (a) even by traditionalists' own admission Latin America experiences a considerable degree of local capital flight, capital therefore no longer available to sponsor and support indigenous research and development activities (Pastor, 1990); and (b) they are deliberately kept at that level by major foreign concerns avoiding competitive scientific development in the region (Furtado, 1978; and Galeano, 1973). In this context, whatever assistance is granted Latin America is always at a quasi-insignificant level; indeed, at the very best the region is only permitted to play a subaltern role in marginal scientific work (Baez, 1986; Fajnzylber, 1990; Lall, 1975, 1983, 1992; and Prebisch, 1970). In addition, the so-called participation granted local scientists in world class research is nothing but a clever scheme devised by the North to attract researchers educated in the South, by the South, and at southern costs. It is simply an organized brain-drain designed to deplete the region from its most promising individuals, and empty Latin America of its most valuable talents, those who could best contribute to development in the region (Altbach, 1971; Cortes & Bocock, 1984; Dietz & James, 1990;

Fajnzylber, 1990; and Todaro, 1986). Help from the North, for *dependentistas*, proves to be nothing more than the allocation of local scientists to third class research. It lures the best minds away from the nations that need them the most.

Technology Transfer

Going hand-in-hand with research and development, is the issue of technology transfer. As alluded-to above, traditionalists support wholeheartedly the concept of technology transfer to Latin America, this for a variety of apparently valid reasons. It is clear, according to traditionalist accounts, that the region lacks the funds, the infrastructure, the scientific and technical orientation, and the expertise necessary to develop indigenous technology (Cortes & Bocock, 1984; and Dietz & James, 1990). It is reasonable, therefore, for local nations to turn to DCs for modern technology. Technological assistance, from the traditionalist perspective, provides a short-cut access to modern technology. Such a short-cut allows Latin America to benefit from DCs' work and current technological developments and advances without having to finance the underlying process (a cost which can be considerable, indeed). The region, therefore, experiences the best of both world: it has access to leading-edge technology, but it does not have to finance its creation. To this already great benefit the introduction of modern education, based on science and the transfer of technology, must also be added (Cortes & Bocock, 1984; and Dietz & James, 1990).

The critical understanding of the technology transfer process is different, to say the least. From this perspective, technology transfer is yet another means to extract capital from Latin America while at the same time often causing serious ecological and social

damages. To start with, much of the technology being transferred is unsuitable for the region because of geographical, social, political, financial, cultural, historical, educational and occupational reasons (Adams & Solomon, 1985; Baez, 1986; and Fajnzylber, 1990). In addition, in so far as it impacts on the occupational market, transferred technologies typically reduce work opportunities and contribute significantly to the social havoc created by unemployment and underemployment. Furthermore, a sizable proportion of the technology transferred to the region taxes the environment to a level that would never be permitted in the North, and occasionally use processes and materials long-banned in developed nations. Making matters worse, many of these environmental impacts are, unfortunately, non-reversible or long-lasting (Adams & Solomon, 1985). To the foregoing, critical developmentalists add that the technology transferred (under the label of state-of-the-art) has long outlived its usefulness in the North; in other words, Latin America pays a premium price for well-amortized and near-obsolescent technology (Baez, 1986; Lall, 1975, 1983, 1992; and Prebisch, 1970). As if this was not enough, technology transfer customarily comes with multiple strings attached (Galeano, 1973), ties ensuring the donors/sellers of manifold returns of original investments over time. Such strings take the form of royalties payable to donors, maintenance contracts, periodical workforce upgrading, supply of replacement parts and accessories, provision of specialized materials, etc., all steadily draining hard currencies from Latin American coffers and transferring them to northern capitalists' accounts, in the very manner they were designed to do (Adams, 1991; and George, 1989). As for the introduction of technical education accompanying technology transfer, critical sources consider it to consist of the provision

of minimal skills to the local workforce to better integrate it in the capitalist global division of labour.

Local Education

Critique of local education runs high among traditional and critical developmentalists. Both groups point their readers' attention to the many obvious shortcomings local educational systems exhibit. The respective emphases of their comments, however, differ. Traditionalists admit that the continuation of an old (essentially colonial) educational system does little in terms of providing the region with training suitable for today's realities. They are quick to denounce insufficient budgets, curricular obsolescence, excessive academic/classical orientation, irrelevancy of programs, poor facilities, low quality of personnel, lack of systematic approach to the organization of the various educational levels, and the many day-to-day difficulties experienced by such systems, such as drop-out rates, irregular attendance, etc (ECLAC, 1992; Gimeno Blat, 1983; and Gomes Pereira, 1986).

Once more, traditionalists perceive that valid solutions to the predicaments of Latin American education can be found in the North. Through aid in the form of educational assistance, appropriate financing can be directed to areas requiring it the most: DC-type modern curricula can be introduced to replace old local ones; programs can be more closely tailored to present needs; new facilities can be built or old ones overhauled; international experts can be brought in to rationalize education; and sophisticated pedagogies from the North can be utilized to remedy daily difficulties (Gomes Pereira, 1986; and Inter American Development Bank, 1981). Again, for the traditionalist, the

region is in a position to gain enormously from international assistance.

Although critical developmentalists recognize many of the problems denounced by traditionalists, their understanding of education in the region departs significantly from that summarized above. Critical sources argue that education in the region has historically been a tool of control in the hand of the ruling classes (Burns, 1977; and Swift, 1978). In Latin America, education is purposely colonial and divisive; it is designed to subtly and efficiently perform the most rigid social allocation possible. Via education, members of the masses are socialized into the dominant culture, and learn at an early age that they legitimately belong to their subjugated groups and are solely responsible for their social, political, and economic failures. In this way Latin American education is commonly used to justify socio-historical realities (La Belle, 1975, 1986; Merani, 1983; and Torres, 1983, 1987, 1991).

Critical developmentalists perceive existing forms of local education to be the dominant classes' responses to popular demands for education. Since it is difficult and politically unwise to refuse outright mass demands for education, ruling classes settle for the next best solution, that of providing socializing education in the present social structure and offering little potential for social, economic, and occupational mobility (Illich, 1973; La Belle, 1975, 1986; Merani, 1983; and Torres, 1987, 1990). For critical individuals, solutions to Latin America's educational difficulties can only be found in truly indigenous mass education, education designed to liberate and empower, to bridge the wide gap existing between education for those destined to rule and those born to obey (Freire, 1988; Freire & Faundez, 1989; La Belle, 1975, 1986; and Torres, 1983, 1988).

And, certainly, these solutions cannot be found in the adoption of foreign-devised education such as that customarily provided under international assistance.

Educational Assistance

As briefly alluded-to in the previous section, traditional developmentalists perceive educational assistance to be an indispensable factor to achieve development in the region. Not only does assistance provide modern education, progressive curricula, appropriate budgets, systematic approaches, and adequate means of delivery support, but it also creates the all-important human capital, prepares the workforce to better compete in the global economic arena, and addresses market needs (Harbison, 1973; Meier, 1978; and Schultz, 1963, 1981). In other words, educational assistance is instrumental in bringing Latin America to a point where they can more successfully integrate in the world economy (Coombs, 1968; and ECLAC, 1992). Through aided education, new skills are learned and new attitudes and behaviours are developed, all closely approximating those prevalent in the North (Lipset, 1985; McClelland, 1967, 1969; and Parsons, 1956, 1966, 1973, 1977, 1985).

When discussing educational assistance, critical developmentalists and *dependentistas* express a considerably different opinion, as they do towards most forms of aid. First, they perceive educational assistance to be based on unsuitable foreign paradigms, some of which, independent of their origin, are of questionable value (Merani, 1983; and Prieto Figueroa, 1987). Second, in education as in all other areas, assistance caters to local needs, but only as articulated by national representatives These representatives belong invariably to elite groups, and it is to this group, not to popular

necessities that assistance caters (Galeano, 1973). Third, educational assistance is also devised by foreign experts having little or no insight in, or understanding of, the realities of the region; they merely respond to the requests of the elites (Merani, 1983; Reisig, 1974; Todaro, 1986; and Torres, 1987, 1990). Fourth, educational assistance is deliberately manipulative, forcing *modern* ideas, values, and beliefs on unsuspected populations who are, via the process of educational aid, slowly transformed into western consumers; educational assistance is essentially, therefore, a huge behaviour-modification scheme (Chomsky, 1989; Merani, 1983; and Tomlinson, 1991). Fifth, through attitude, value, belief, and behaviour changes, Latin America is forcibly socialized into the global capitalist system thereby further reinforcing northern capitalist positions, aggravating dependency, and weakening the probability of South America ever being able to achieve indigenous development (La Belle, 1975, 1986). And sixth, by its very nature, educational assistance frustrates mass educational aspirations and further refines and legitimizes class and labour division (La Belle, 1975, 1986; Merani, 1983; and Torres, 1983, 1987), both in the region and globally.

Practical Forms of Education

Creation of human capital, as discussed earlier, runs high among traditional developmentalists priorities (Harbison, 1973; Harbison & Myers, 1964; Meier, 1978; and Schultz, 1963, 1981). To them, modern development can only be achieved if a skilled workforce meets the demands of an ever-changing market. In this context, contemporary assisted education customarily takes the form of practical education, and comprises technical, vocational, adult and nonformal training (Bellew & Moock, 1990; Blat Gimeno,

1983; Castle, 1972; Gomes Pereira *et al*, 1986; and Inter American Development Bank, 1981). To traditionalists, such programs are ideally suited to create short career tracks permitting quick integration of clients into the world of work; to meet the demand of local and global economy (the two being irreversibly intertwined); to generate employment at the middle occupational level (a level noticeable by its absence in the region); to provide education to the many to whom regular schooling never catered (Coombs, 1973; Coombs & Ahmed, 1974; and ECLA 1968); and to progressively introduce better workers' lifestyle (Benton & Noyelle, 1992). Practical assisted education, viewed in this light, is deemed to have the potential of bringing to Latin American masses the many blessings already long-enjoyed by industrialized countries.

Not surprisingly, critics of traditional development entertain dissimilar opinions. Foremost in their criticisms is the fact that practical education is fundamentally oriented to satisfy the demands of global capitalism for an ample and permanent supply of cheap labour. With this orientation in mind, practical education limits itself to providing the minimum level of skills necessary to more efficiently run the international capitalist apparatus and certainly does not encumber itself with superfluous and dangerous notions such as providing Latin American workers with tools of socio-economic mobility, empowerment, and freedom! (La Belle, 1975, 1986; Ludovici, 1984; Merani, 1983; and Torres, 1983, 1987, 1990) Practical assisted education is designed to develop the hands, not the minds. As can be expected, developing the hands and not the minds is a goal closely coinciding with the desires of local elites; as such, foreign providers of aid and Latin American elites have quickly recognized their commonality of aspirations and struck

a devilish pact keeping the region at the low educational/developmental level, which accounts for the present crisis. However, aside from this purely capitalist purpose, practical education is also characterized by many additional undesirable features. First, despite governmental rhetoric to the contrary, practical education is not adequately supported by the very governments heralding its numerous merits (Bilbao, 1980; Corvalán Vasquez, 1977; Reisig, 1974; and Torres, 1983, 1990). Second, the low credentials provided by this form of education do not favourably compare to those yielded by traditional/classical education which, consequently, still draws more clientele than education-for-production (Bilbao, 1980; Brock, 1985; and Schiefelbein, 1979). Third, efforts to develop practical education in the region have not been accompanied by the creation of matching occupational opportunities, both in kind and quantity (Corvalán Vasquez, 1977; Jackson, 1987; and Torres, 1983, 1987, 1990). Fourth, educational assistance aimed at practical forms of education is plagued by numerous additional commitment to the donor (Corvalán Vasquez, 1977), as well as by a low level of sustainability. Indeed, much of the practical education recommended is very costly to implement and maintain and often proves impossible to sustain after the initial assistance contract has expired (Corvalán Vasquez, 1977; and Hurabielle, 1990, 1991). Even when local governments make appropriate budgetary allocations for maintenance of practical programs (a measure which is almost unheard of in the region), practical education, like technology transfer, drains capital away from the region via the purchase of materials, acquisition of spare parts, upgrading of educators, service contracts, and more. Fifth, practical education is designed to respond to the plight of a very special segment of Latin

American society, comprising those perceived by governments and elites to be politically impotent and socially insignificant (Corda-Costa & Visalberghi, 1978; and Torres, 1983, 1987, 1990). Ultimately, for critical developmentalists, practical education, as advocated and assisted by DCs, is a great fallacy designed by the North to benefit the North; it is yet another obstacle thrown in the way of Latin America's development, for it was never intended to do more than preparing local workforces to occupy the lowest rung of the international capitalist division of labour.

Summary

Response to research question #7 -- which asks if the traditional and critical views differ in terms of philosophies, goals and expectations, and if so, why and on what point -- indicates that, indeed, the two perspectives differ substantially in most aspects of their views concerning development. Differences can be observed in all eleven themes comprising the analytical matrix (Appendix D). As has been discussed above, such differences might occur in terms of kind, as well as degree. More than anything else, these differences are related to dissimilar paradigmatic orientations.

A Personal Perception of the Two Perspectives

Preamble

Before sharing his perception of some of the factors discussed in this study, the researcher wishes to reiterate the fact that his considerable exposure to DCs' and Spanish cultures, both in Western Europe and North America, as well as in Spain and in Latin America, places him in a rather privileged position to venture some reasonably well-grounded personal opinions about many aspects of the topics treated in the present

research. The aspects briefly stressed in this subsection of Chapter V will focus solely on the researcher's perception of contemporary human capital, modernization for integration, Spanish and Latin American traits, the role of elites, the assignment of priorities, political stability and the value of international assistance.

On Contemporary Human Capital

Although few observers would argue the fact that education and training for the creation of human capital is a laudable pursuit *per se*, the precise nature of the ultimate goals of such a proposition must always be critically scrutinized. In the opinion of the researcher who in this instance shares the view of critical developmentalists, the creation of human capital, in Latin America and elsewhere, is essentially designed to enhance the productivity of the workforce, not to impart to the worker any sort of empowerment, political awareness, or semblance of *concientización*. In such context, human capital falls clearly within the strategies and measures widely utilized by international capitalists to take steps to further maximize their profits.

In this light, human capital rather than being a measure aimed at bettering workers' conditions is a means of preparing them to increase the financial returns of those owning the means of production, without any guarantee whatsoever of better wages, higher social status, improved social services, or enhanced lifestyle. All that accompanies human capital are distant promises made by those destined to draw the most benefits from the scheme (world capitalists and their local associates), that gains will eventually be felt by workers, given time, efforts, willingness to try, and individual capacity to achieve success.

When results do not match promises (which is the usual scenario) contemporary

human capital proponents are quick to suggest that before criticizing or complaining sufficient time should be given the plan to be successful; or that lack of success is due to insufficient efforts or poor individual capacity. In other words, the locus of failure is never with the concept itself. If the outcome is not positive for the individual (a fact plainly visible in the region where the standard of living keeps on falling steadily) then who benefits if not the capitalist apparatus in the hands of those proposing the scheme? As far as the researcher was able to ascertain during his lengthy stays in the region, the only parties directly benefiting from human capital-oriented efforts were members of the local bureaucracy administering such training projects, international consultants on the foreign circuit, and the few locals who completed such programs (customarily, however, the latter continued to be employed at their original wages or occupational levels). If anything, most managers and administrators were of the opinion that the mere fact of having been subjected to the training was already privilege enough for workers thereby closing all possibility of negotiating for further socio-economic or occupational improvement.

Beyond the issue of who benefits is the greater concern of the validity of human capital efforts.. From the researcher's experience, even assuming that workers could benefit from human capital creation, several other factors seriously flaw this sort of attempt in the region. First and foremost, most efforts start at the educational or training level, <u>not</u> at the level of occupation-creation. What occurs, therefore, is the mismatch mentioned in the literature and discussed previously, a mismatch whereby a given area has a glut of recently trained labour in an occupational field devoid of any foreseeable openings; in fact it is not impossible to locate in Latin America graduates for industries

that have not yet been created or really thought of in a rational or holistic fashion. In such common instances the graduates' knowledge is already obsolete and/or affected by decay before the industry even develops (if it ever does).

In the region the distribution of training is often irrational. Training programs are made available in areas that will likely never support them adequately, or they hold little occupational promise for graduates. Examples of such mismatch can be found in the existence of programs, offered deep inland or in the high plateaus, which train commercial sea fishermen; or of those teaching cattle farming to coastal populations. Furthermore, there also exists an issue of anachronism in human capital-based training. More as a rule than as an exception, the researcher and his colleagues have witnessed the implementation of programs with built-in obsolescence or doomed to failure at the outset. These focussed on the development of human capital in inappropriate or dead-end areas or disciplines. An example of such an anachronistic venture is the training of people to service manual typewriters while at the same time a national effort to computerize the society is underway. Even considering the technological lag of local nations, such human capital investment is, at best, shortsighted.

To these issues the researcher would like to add a very fundamental question related to the nexus of today's world economy. Is the creation of human capital that is designed to support classical economies still a viable approach in a post-industrial and post-modern context? In the author's opinion, even assuming human capital was valid in the heyday of Meyers and Harbison, it certainly fails to address the questions raised by unsustainable classical/industrial economies and the advent of post-modern societies where

the colloquial expression "working for a living" may take a thus far unsuspected meaning. Although some might argue, and within limited reasons, that Latin America is still currently in the industrial era and that human capital is a relevant paradigm, how long do they expect the region to remain there? How long will it be at today's precipitated pace before the geographical area covered in this study enters post-industrialism and post-modernism (if it has not already partially done so)? And, if this rapid evolution of Latin America out of the industrial / modern period is correctly perceived by the researcher, what is the purpose of introducing and/or maintaining industry-oriented human capital training? Upon further analysis, the researcher considers human capital as sold to the region and to many other places of the world to be the summum of fallacy, the epitome of the unchecked assumption.

On Modernization for Integration

Little doubt exists in the researcher's mind that modernization of the region does, indeed, facilitate the so-called global integration process of Latin America and effect some benefits especially as expressed in terms of GNP or other broad economic indicators of a statistical nature. There are, however, fewer doubts that such integration is solely beneficial to local privileged classes and foreign capitalists, the two major groups, indeed, heralding the desirability of such integration. This desirability is based on two major factors: (1) for privileged locals and foreign financiers integration facilitates the movement of capital (but only for those possessing such a commodity); and (2) for MNCs and TNCs integration opens countless new markets and provides new access to resources (with little tangible positive returns for those comprising these markets or toiling to extract these

resources).

To the average person in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru or other nations of the region, integration means instant immersion in an economic maelstrom; instant absorption into an unescapable and unjust global system bent on squeezing more out of the local workforce and the environment; profound alterations to traditional lifestyles, customs, and habits; and socialization into foreign cultural, social, and financial systems in which they are not permitted any contributory input. Integration, for the large masses of Latin America, spells greater dependency on the First World, and participation at the lowest levels of the capitalist division of labour. In such context, although it is true that the region participates in simple labour-intensive capitalist activities, most of which are typically taking place under foreign control, it is also true that such activities are engaged in by a local workforce which does not accrue benefits or better their lifestyle (if it does not experience outright decreases in these areas). In such a context the locus of leading processes and stages of design and creation related to the various aspects of modernization are still in DCs. In other words, integration becomes a synonym for increased dependency and exposure to harsher social, economic, and political conditions.

On Spanish and Latin American Traits

Historical and cultural quixotic traits described by Cervantes in his time are all but gone in hispanic societies. This early, qualified, astute, and skilful inside observer depicted many characteristics still clearly perceptible today in Spain and Latin America. Although pervasive in most aspects of life in the region, areas affected particularly severely are those of philosophical orientation, interpersonal relationships, family ties, priority-setting, and

politics. These areas all echo features very congruent with Talcott Parsons variables. While working and living in the region during the late 1980's and early 1990's the researcher re-discovered traits and features he had encountered on a daily basis when living in the Iberian Peninsula during the 1960's and 1970's. Some of these are briefly reviewed below for they most certainly impact on the so-called modern development process. It is worth noting that although many of the characteristics described below can be observed in other areas of the world, they are sufficiently pronounced in Latin America to become traits. Absence of these traits, in fact, is exceptional.

Hispanic orientation predisposes many members of society to place an unusual amount of attention on social images. Therefore, many decisions, actions, and behaviours are essentially social rather than rational in their orientation (in the western / anglo-saxon sense of the word "rational"). This proclivity, therefore, lends many issues and the reactions they elicit a near-incomprehensible character especially to the unsuspecting observer. Such orientation explains, in part, why many decisions, processes, and procedures are judged inefficient, ineffective or plainly flawed by many non-latinos, for they simply trigger different responses to familiar or universal stimuli.

Particularly noticeable to foreign personnel working in such societies is the paternalistic and utterly undemocratic orientation of all occupational contexts. The notion of team-work is virtually absent in most organizations, and in the rare cases where the opinions of subaltern employees are sought, they are customarily not taken into account in the final analyses or, when perceived to be exceptionally valid, are expropriated by managers, administrators, and supervisors. With their social images in mind, most

administrators, managers, supervisors or individuals in positions of power would rather maintain an obviously flawed stance than admit their own error or misunderstanding. The strong social and educational hierarchy prevailing in these societies is such that it effectively prevents those in positions of power to recognize the fact that, perhaps, some of their employees -- although not possessing the same credentials, not born into elites, and not belonging to the same political circles -- can, after all, have valid ideas too. Consequently, most government organizations, agencies and departments, as well as the world of business and industry in the region fail to benefit from the talents of the overwhelming majority of those in their employ.

A corollary issue to this failure is that most managers, administrators, and supervisors never delegate. The researcher was astounded by the pettiness and triviality of many of the issues on which people in these positions wasted their valuable time -- time which could have been better spent in critical pursuits elsewhere. In such a climate, the employees are considered by their supervisors to be inept at most tasks and decisions, administrators are so preoccupied with status they cannot give to their staff the attention they need.

The world of work, as appropriately commented on by Parsons and McClelland, is further modulated by nepotism, friendship, political affiliation, and, at times, bribery. It is, therefore, difficult for local industry, business, and government, to hire and employ the most qualified individual for the task. The qualified individual, indeed, rarely makes the first round of selection in the hiring process. The researcher experienced this process on various occasions when he was *afflicted* with politically well-connected national

counterparts totally unsuitable for the task. He had selected highly qualified and motivated (but less-well connected) individuals who, in the long term, would have truly benefited the organizations for which they would have worked. Related to this tendency is the proclivity of local managers and administrators to *hire down*, that is, to only hire individuals with whom they do not feel threatened; so instead of hiring the best person for the position they customarily hire the one who is most malleable and least likely to entertain novel ideas, creative approaches, or to challenge their employer's views. Consequently, little positive outcome can be expected from the administrative processes prevailing in the region.

Of importance to development is the local level of assignation of priorities. It is the researcher's experience, both in Spain and Latin America, that members of the hispanic culture have a locus of priorities, both social, and economic, considerably different from that commonly encountered in modern industrialized nations. They appear to place considerably more emphasis on the many social aspects of their life than do individuals in industrialized societies; in addition, this tendency seems to be present in all social classes with whom the researchers had contact. Instead of being almost constantly preoccupied with occupational concerns like most westerners, latinos have different priorities. Instead of continuously striving to attain higher degrees of efficiency in local agencies, government departments, organizations, and businesses, they perform *just well enough to function* while expanding energies on the pursuit of apparently unrelated social activities. These involve regularly attending family matters during the work day, taking never-ending luncheons (during which actual business activities are <u>not</u> undertaken) and social visits

with colleagues in their offices for interminable lengths of time.

Paradoxically, although Latin American employees and executives are typically working longer hours than their northern counterparts in industrialized countries (meaning that they are at the work place for longer hours) they just as typically achieve considerably less than their homologues in DCs. Indeed, during his employment in Latin America the researcher regularly had to schedule four to five times more time to accomplish daily tasks than he normally does in Europe or North America. This time difference is not attributable to any single factor in isolation but rather to a mixture of obsolete technologies, limited budgets, different allocation of priorities, reluctance to delegate, lack of trust in others' abilities, procrastination and lack of decision-making consensus, as well as the overwhelming social orientation of all occupational endeavours. These account to a significant degrees for the inefficient use of time. In light of such realities one must suspect that if it takes so much longer to accomplish tasks in the Latin American context, then the region will also take that much longer to develop (even assuming the developmental paradigm to be perfect, which it is not).

On Latin American Elites

As discussed earlier in chapters III, IV, and V, portraits of elites vary widely depending on who holds the brush: traditionalists, or critical developmentalists. The researcher entertains a view of elites which falls somewhere between these two extremes. To him elites, much like those they dominate, are victims/products of the societies in which they can be found. Latin American elites are results of a peculiar mix between the old and the new. They relate to the past in terms of their very identity and legitimization.

They are the founding groups often of pure European blood or only slightly blurred genetic lines. They have land; they have capital, and their well-established ancestry counts greatly on the local social, political, and economic scene. Belonging to a well-known family implies complying with all related social expectations. Inappropriate behaviour not only brings one shame, but it also brings disgrace to the whole lineage. In this context elites behave, for the best or for the worse, like their ancestors did before them.

The other aspect of elites, of course, is that they have a foot in each world: one in the universe of *haciendas/latifundia*, the other in that of the micro-chip, space travel, and unbridled western consumerism. Educated in Europe or the United States, shopping every two weeks in Miami, reading *Le Monde*, the *New York Times*, or *Stern*, exposed to ideas and concepts transcending the immediate realities of the *Costa* or *Altiplano*, they have more in common with citizens of the First World than with their compatriots. The fundamental paradigmatic differences existing between local elites and the rest of Latin America's populations are much more the results of their dissimilar experiences than those of a well-orchestrated, machiavellian plot to better dominate and dupe the people. They have grown, in fact, distant from their sources and have lost the ability to recognize and appreciate local realities experienced by most of their *concitoyens*, let alone respond to the countless needs these tragic realities generate.

The population of Latin America comprises large masses of uneducated, unaware, and muzzled citizens, and a small group of disconnected elites no longer relating to local conditions, past, present, or future. The region is facing the serious dilemma of attempting to develop while still lacking one of the most fundamental ingredients: a ready

and well-prepared population. This, in the opinion of the researcher, is yet another contributing factor to unsuccessful development in the region.

On Political Stability

In terms of politics, the area is of considerable social, economic, and developmental significance. The region is undeniably characterized by a perceptible degree of instability but, at the same time (and almost paradoxically), it is also marked by a higher degree of political awareness and active involvement than DCs -- this despite of the existence of undemocratic regimes. It has been the researcher's experience that politics is as favourite a topic of conversation and preoccupation to Latin Americans as hockey is to Canadians and football to North Americans. One can hardly go anywhere without overhearing heated political conversations, opinions, and discussions. However, and regrettably so, the common political stance of most locals is *to be for everything that is against, and against everything that is for!* The same propensity for endless nitpicking argumentation which characterizes politics can also be observed in the organization of labour, in the world of work, and in virtually any area of Latin American existence. It is rare, therefore, to find people agreeing on anything, and consensus of any sort is virtually unachievable. This is a most important drawback in societies constitutionally based on consensus rather than on the democratic precept of majority rule. Unachievability of consensus historically led to political situations where nothing could be accomplished or, conversely, where strong men, fed-up with paralyzing political realities, took power by force and established military juntas or *caudillista* regimes. These regimes as the last two or three decades have demonstrated, are far from being a thing of the past.

On the Value of Foreign Assistance

The researcher is of the opinion that the principle of foreign assistance is a laudable one but that, over time and through the many pressures generated by questionable factors, it became corrupted to a point where it does, indeed, justify many of the criticisms levelled at it by *dependentistas*. Regardless of this corruption (which many consider most obvious), it is regrettable that governments, agencies and organizations continue to view and treat assistance as if it always operated in the most ideal fashion; in this respect, the traditionalist stance is inexcusable.

The officially articulated goals and intends of DCs engaged in foreign assistance are deserving of praise and appreciation for they are expressions, in their most fundamental manifestations, of philanthropy, brotherhood, and Christian attitude. It is the case of the more economically advanced lending a hand to their somewhat lagging fellow human beings. Having said that, however, one must also recognize that such pristine form of aid is never encountered. Identical comments can also be made about the official goals and intends of LDCs' governments seeking foreign assistance. These nations with the well-being of all their citizens in mind go to great lengths (and expenditures) to ensure that pressing local needs are most successfully met. They do so by enlisting the assistance of more economically developed countries thereby following a perfectly sound and rational procedure.

Unfortunately for the Third World in general, and Latin America in particular, such ideal situations are never found for as mentioned above the very process of international assistance is fundamentally flawed by a very serious mismatch existing between the ideal

model and life's realities. In the opinion of the researcher negative factors most severely affecting the process are related to the presence of numerous vested interests (at virtually every single step of the assistance process), sizable socio-cultural obstacles, unfavourable national and international climates, and an alarming lack of short- and long-term assessments of the impacts and results of aid.

Vested Interests

Vested interests of a financial, economic, political, religious, strategic, social, racial, ethnic, and cultural nature are present in every single aspect and in every single phase of the assistance process and affect its entire operation from the overseas offices of major donors, agencies, and organization, down to the last village of the *Altiplano, Costa,* or *Oriente.* At each discrete step in the process players go to extremes to capture and retain as much as they can of the power and benefits associated with the aid *industry*. Consequently, since assistance takes a most tortuous route to reach its ultimate destination, very little is left in terms of benefits for those it finally reaches and who are, regrettably, its initially designated beneficiaries. Often, as repeatedly experienced and observed by the researcher, when ethically- and socially-minded foreign consultants or local counterparts attempt in earnest to adhere to the ideal tenets and principles of aid they find themselves facing near-insurmountable political, occupational and professional roadblocks, obstacles carefully devised by vested interests holders, local and foreign.

Socio-cultural Factors

In terms of socio-cultural factors the hispanic cultural and social propensities discussed earlier must be stressed once again, for they form a monolithic obstacle to any

form of foreign assistance. Regardless of the real or potential effectiveness of aid the author, having experienced and observed the ill-effects of such orientation, is convinced that it represents a most serious impediment to any developmental effort. It has been his observation that national crises, local economic mayhem, consultancy-related costs, the presence of foreign advisors, their own professional integrity and reputation, and the sizable responsibility they held *vis-á-vis* their own governments and compatriots were not sufficient enough reasons to prevent most locals employees and administrators from continuously engaging wholeheartedly in inter- and intra- department rivalries, personal feuds, and non work-related pursuits, as if completely oblivious to the seriousness of the issues at stakes. To say the least, these characteristics contribute little to national advancement and progress in any area.

Economic Climate

To the socio-cultural context the researcher feels that the national and international economic and political climates must also be added as obstacles to development. As it presently stands, the international economic order favours DCs' industries because of their higher level of industrialization, cheaper acquisition of raw materials, higher returns for refined materials, goods, and commodities, preferential tariffs, national subsidies and other measures, and is unfavourable for Latin America, for the very same reasons.

In addition, the region is plagued by debt. In the lending frenzy of the 1970's local governments accumulated such momentous liabilities that they now face the impossibility of paying them back in full. Indeed, most of the region's resources hardly suffice to cover the interests of such odious debt let alone making a dent in the principal. To accountants

in DCs, it might sound rational for banks to demand repayment. But the sacrifices now associated with this process clearly fall on the shoulders of those who have never requested any financial assistance, who have never benefited from loans (and never will) and who are most certainly the least able to perform the miracle they are asked or forced to perform. In the meantime bygone politicians who have accumulated the international debt -- such as Ecuador's Fébres Cordero, Argentina's Galtieri, and many others -- have passed enriched into history without having to render in the slightest of manner any account of the gross mismanagement of their countries' financial affairs.

Assessment of Foreign Assistance

It is the researcher's opinion that foreign assistance due to its importance, its cost, its potential impact, the expectations it generates, the exposure it receives, and the conditions it imposes on recipients should be the object of the most detailed, stringent, and public assessment process. Unfortunately, due to the protection of vested interests, perceived lack of importance of the venture by many top players in DCs and LDCs; connivance between the perpetrators of questionable assistantial deeds (local and international); presentation of irrelevant, incomplete, or incomprehensible statistics; existence of hard to unearth documents; empty governmental rhetoric and widespread bureaucratic platitudes such evaluation process is virtually non-existent or purposely non-interpretable, especially in its long-term form. Essentially, assistance occurs in the form of discrete projects. Such projects are customarily thrown together too quickly with minimum participation by local recipients, foreign consultants, and national counterparts (especially in the early stages).

Consequently, the dice is cast by DCs' brass and national elites with little concern for whatever occurs in the front lines. In fact, the researcher's experience points to the fact that the final outcome of many aid projects is a forgone conclusion regardless of how well or poorly the venture eventually unfolds. This situation further explains the reason why little serious evaluation occurs either during or after project completion. Indeed, why bother assessing results when their outcome has already been predetermined? To this sad reality must also be added the fact that in most agencies, organizations or departments staff allocated for evaluation and assessment (when such staff exists) is often too small and inadequately provided for in terms of funds, missions, authority, or scope of action; in other words in the rare instances where assessment is performed it is deliberately undermined and appended to aid as an after-thought; or merely paid lip-service.

In this context valid input by front line personnel, local or international, is not encouraged, facilitated, or taken into account. In some cases it is even openly impeded or actively discouraged. Outspoken consultants face criticisms levelled by local governments; they are subjected to threats of contract cancellation, their professional integrity and career opportunities are jeopardized, and they risk having honorarium retained. Similarly, local counterparts when undesirably vocal face occupational ostracism, professional alienation or, in some extreme cases, physical and psychological retaliation.

In this climate, not only are assessment mechanisms weakly implemented, but whatever evaluation process exists is strongly influenced by the factors referred-to above. Whatever evaluation emerges is a product of the foreign assistance myth, a minor

component of DC-LDC folklore. Irrelevant indicators, obscure numerical figures, colourful bar graphs and pie charts, published papers, and long-winded speeches delivered by self-professed experts all substantiate convincingly the great achievements of foreign assistance. Unfortunately, once removed from the salons of international symposia such evidence looses its convincing power for, despite of all the empty rhetoric Juan still cannot read; Maria still watches on as her last-born slowly starves; Pablo is still in jail for having spoken the truth; Carmelita -- inhaling toxic fumes -- still assembles transistor radios she will never listen to; Luis still toils the *hacienda*'s soil for the *patrón* like his father, grandfather and great-grand father did before him; and the *patrón* and his partners in the metropole still grow steadily wealthier.

CHAPTER VI -- CONCLUSIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Preamble

From discussions held in previous chapters, it should be clear that international aid is rarely the great success traditional developmentalists, major donor countries, and leading agencies and organizations depict it to be. Due to several important factors, the essentially noble idea of foreign assistance is effectively hampered. First, aid has a decidedly economic focus. Second, the validity of the western modernization / industrialization paradigm in the current epoch is questionable, Third, some "untouchable" international issues stand in the way of effective assistance. Fourth, aid generally unfolds in an unpropitious climate. Fifth, assistance suffers from the pervasive presence of powerful DC and LDC elites having equally powerful vested interests. Sixth, serious doubts surround the issue of who ultimately benefits from aid. Seventh, assistantial efforts are typically exerted in incompatible cultural contexts. Eighth, assistance is characterized by an uncertain focus. Last, aid is the object of poor assessment mechanisms

From the above realization based on the eleven broad themes investigated in this study and presented in Chapters III, IV, and V, a series of tentative conclusions can be drawn. These conclusions are presented here under labels of a more focussed nature than those of the initial themes. This presentation was selected for it allows the researcher to place special emphasis on discrete aspects of the eleven themes, aspects for which he has the greatest concerns. To guide the reader through the conclusions certain links,

illustrated in Table 8, must be stressed. Each of the "conclusion headings" indicated pertains to the themes referred-to in the "Themes Involved" column. The headings, discussed under "Conclusions" below, stress features the researcher considered to be common to, and most salient in, the themes listed -- the lessons to be learned so to speak.

Table 8

Links between Conclusions and Themes

Conclusion Heading	Themes Involved
Foreign aid: ideal and reality	Economic development and means to achieve it
	Generic foreign assistance
	Commerce, industry, agriculture
	Research and development
	Technology transfer
	Elites, modernization and foreign assistance
Economic focus	Economic development and means to achieve it
Untouchable issues	Generic foreign assistance
	Elites, modernization and foreign assistance
Current validity of foreign, western paradigms	Economic development and means to achieve it
	Generic foreign assistance
	Commerce, industry, agriculture
	Research and development

	Technology transfer
Unpropitious climate	Historical factors considered
	Post-independent political evolution
Educate, yes! But for what?	Local education
	Educational assistance
	Practical forms of education in the region
Results assessment,	Economic development and means to achieve it
responsibility,	Generic foreign assistance
accountability, and impunity	Commerce, industry, agriculture
	Research and development
	Technology transfer
	Elites, modernization and foreign assistance

Conclusions

Foreign Aid: Ideal and Reality

Ideally the principle of foreign assistance is extremely laudable, Christian, humanitarian, and generous. The concept of the more economically advanced leading the less economically developed appears, indeed, to be a very sound one. Unfortunately, this noble ideas is flawed by many undesirable factors preventing its pure application. International assistance does not operate in an unpolluted climate. Hidden agendas both in donor and recipient nations abound making the overt one virtually irrelevant to actual undertakings. For example, aid projects are often launched not so much to assist

recipients but rather to induce LDCs' governments to enter into economic commitments with donor nations.

To this rarely acknowledged twist political modulation must also be added. On the one hand many assistantial ventures are embarked upon, from a First World perspective, to ensure the outright establishment and maintenance of *politically friendly* regimes; not to foster the sort of development most beneficial to all members of local populations. On the other, political modulation also takes the form of subtle political pressure exercised to make recipient countries act in manners and directions most beneficial to First World corporate interests.

Regrettably, the media in industrialized nations act in connivance with business and political interests instead of fulfilling their sacrosanct obligation, which, obviously, is to speak the truth. Therefore through careful omissions, deliberately selective emphasis and one-sided accounts the questionable aspects of international aid go unnoticed by the public and remain secrets well guarded by their very perpetrators and allies in governments, agencies, organizations, and business -- in the periphery as well as in the metropole.

Economic Focus

To the disparity existing between the spirit of international assistance and its reality must also be added the fact that aid as it presently exists, instead of considering economic as well as socio-political aspects of development, views solely its economic and least human form. As a result numbers might add up and graphs might look intriguing, but, in the final analysis, the most important manifestations of progress and development -- which are the human, social, and political ones -- fail to materialize in a convincing way. In view

of these realities one cannot help but wonder how long the traditional school requires to notice, let alone understand, that development is systemic and not fragmentary or isolated from extremely influential social, political and cultural factors, both at the national and international level.

Untouchable Issues

Unfortunately, these extremely influential factors are rarely spoken of and even more rarely acted upon for they became untouchable issues. In the opinion of the author traditional developmentalists, far from being incapable to recognize and identify these critical factors, have chosen the path of least resistance and highest convenience, and have deliberately decided not to encumber themselves with issues requiring action rather than mere rhetoric, expedient dismissal, and/or conventional and politically palatable platitudes.

Considering the score of issues left unresolved by maintaining the uniquely economic focus of international assistance, it is little surprise that the results of foreign aid still fall considerably short of meeting the level of expectations customarily raised at the onset of any assistantial project. The researcher is of the opinion that development, to ever show positive results, must be accompanied (if not actually preceded) by fundamental social and political modifications to the society in which it is expected to take place.

Current Validity of Foreign, Western Paradigms

Current traditional developmental paradigms exhibit two fundamental flaws (in addition to many minor ones). First, they are products of western industrialized nations, not of Latin America. Second, they were originally devised to answer different contextual realities. As a result they do not suit local orientations, propensities, social and

occupational inclinations, resources, realities, cultures and needs. These paradigms, even in their countries of origin, are now being increasingly questioned in terms of their suitability for, and relevancy to, problems experienced in the post-modern / post-industrial era. The researcher supports the view that the doubtful transferability and current applicability of these common developmental models strongly undermine traditionalists' claims to their suitability in the context of Latin American developmental efforts.

Unpropitious Climate

Independent of the paradigm validity question, most international aid efforts in the region unfold in unpropitious socio-cultural and occupational climates. Two factors seem to be particularly strong in this area. First ,there is the presence of powerful and vocal elites; second, there is the existence of a cultural context exhibiting a high degree of philosophical discontinuity with the efficiency model underlying the traditional developmental paradigm of modernization and industrialization, a cultural context which influences greatly what is achievable, in practice, by foreign assistance.

Traditional local elites, in the opinion of this researcher, generally act as a negative catalyst focussing their efforts, talents, political power and considerable resources on furthering their own privileges at the expense of the rest of the local population, which comprises most of those living in the region. This is detrimental to the development of the region. Due to their financial resources, qualifications, experience, and connections these elites control or occupy all key positions in the international aid game. This enables them to siphon-off the resources for their own use while ensuring the continued subjugation of the masses.

To this deplorable elitist hegemony must also be added the fact that Latin American businessmen, leaders, managers, and those in government exhibit many of the legendary orientations mentioned by Parsons, Lipset, and McClelland, and discussed elsewhere. As such, they do not follow a western efficiency model; they base most important decisions on a rationale that eludes most DCs' citizens, and they choose locus of priorities incongruent with practices prevailing in modern industrialized nations, factors which are all fundamentally incompatible with the tenets of traditional assistance.

Educate, yes! But for what?

The researcher believes that education, within and without the scope of foreign assistance, is a very valuable endeavour. However, there is a severe limitation imposed by contemporary educational aid. Local educational needs are often inaccurately determined. This inaccuracy is essentially related to the facts that (a) needs are articulated by members of the regional elite and foreign experts, not by actual representatives of the designated clientele of such programs; and (b) recipients and elites' perceptions of needs are different, the former wanting social emancipation based on decently remunerated employment and justice, the latter desiring a better qualified workforce trained *just enough* to maximize their profits. Considering the level of power and control at the disposal of elites, it is not at all surprising if, in connivance with First World businesses and their subsidiaries in the region, they consistently steer educational aid in the direction of education for production and maintenance of status-quo rather than in that of social emancipation and political democracy.

Results Assessment, Responsibility, Accountability, and Impunity

As foreign assistance presently operates it is characterized by a profound absence of suitable and reliable result-assessment and accountability processes and procedures. Although assessment and accountability are regularly paid lip-service, such undertakings are usually superficial, departments responsible to handle them are customarily understaffed and under-funded (relative to the importance of the tasks they are assigned to perform), and published evaluations are generally fragmentary, incomplete, hard to interpret, and quite difficult to gain access to in the first place. Consequently, international aid can be said to operate with an astoundingly low degree of accountability and responsibility, and an equally surprisingly high degree of impunity.

Since most projects, once completed, require some time to show clear signs of success or failure, immediate responsibility is usually difficult to assign. Consequently, when projects exhibit disappointing or outright alarming results, recipients have to live with them while politicians enter history, consultants and counterparts go to new desks, and local and international capitalists grow richer and bring their *expertise* to similar pursuits elsewhere in the world. Impunity for failures is also compounded by the fact that most of those affected by projects *turned sour* are socially insignificant, politically voiceless and have little access to local media and none to the international ones.

Recommendations

Although many suggestions and recommendations can arguably be made about the issues of international aid and development, this final section of Chapter VI will concentrate solely on those presenting some definite possibilities of successful

implementation. Suggestions and recommendations of utopian nature, due to their negligible probability of ever being considered, will be deliberately omitted from the following discussion. Furthermore, the reader should be forewarned that recommendations of a purely and solely educational nature are obvious by their absence. This absence is related to the researcher's strong belief that educational assistance cannot solve any of the region's problems unless it is, as a prerequisite, preceded by fundamental changes of a non-educational essence. It is on those fundamental changes that the following recommendations focus.

Restore the Original or Claimed Purpose of Aid

As pointed out in the above conclusions, there exists a perceptible discrepancy between foreign aid as an ideal and foreign aid as reality. This, however, does not need to be the case. Few would disagree with the fundamental value of international aid in its pristine and text-book form. This simple fact, in itself, opens a possible road towards positive change. One of the first indispensable steps towards improvement is to ensure adherence to the most basic humanitarian principles of aid to prevent its process from being manipulated by those whose greed is their sole interest. As is suggested and recommended elsewhere, such close adherence to the true spirit of assistance can be facilitated by the establishment of independent assessment bodies and by the creation of watch groups, both in Latin America and in DCs. These bodies and groups would substantiate and denounce any case of questionable departure from humanitarian claims officially made by donors, agencies, and governments.

Perform Better Need-Assessment

Once restored to its original and humanitarian state assistance must be accompanied by a considerably more accurate and effective need-assessment process. As this assessment presently occurs, and as pointed out in the conclusions, it is generally deficient. Often it is one-sided favouring elite interests groups, and performed by those farthest removed from realities: local elites and foreign experts. On grounds of poor education, lack of understanding, absence of knowledge, distorted perception, voicelessness and other similar reasons designated beneficiaries of aid are commonly eliminated from need-assessment processes.

Fundamental to any perceptible improvement in the assessment process is the enlistment of designated beneficiaries in this preliminary step of aid. They should be surveyed in the most culturally and socially acceptable manner to discover what the perception of needs is from the perspective of insiders, not from that of detached observers. Such a survey should be conducted by members of independent bodies, not by representatives of donor organizations or by professional consultants in the employ of local interest groups.

Create Independent Bodies

The existence of less-than-ideal processes and levels of need-assessment and results-evaluation characterizing foreign assistance, a reality pointed out in the conclusions, makes it imperative to create independent bodies vested with an adequate degree of autonomy, authority and responsibility to perform these tasks in an appropriate manner. The issue of such bodies' autonomy is crucial, for if such bodies succumb to the

pressures and manipulations exercised by powerful parties, their creation is a futile and time-consuming undertaking. Individuals comprising these independent bodies would be selected for their demonstrated social-mindedness, humanitarian achievements, intercultural abilities and related training. This training would be akin to that of members of the diplomatic corp, focussing on the acquisition of international relations skills. Once created such bodies could conduct direct need-assessment in the field at the grass-roots level instead of relying largely on channels of debatable objectivity such as members of local elites and experts officially affiliated with DCs' establishment, or representatives of the very organizations who will handle loans financing. Direct and active involvement of local recipients should figure prominently in any improved need-assessment process, if only for the reasons that they better than anyone else are aware of their own realities and associated needs, and that they and nobody else must live with the results of foreign assistance, be they positive or negative.

To match changes in the need-assessment process considerable improvement should also be effected in the area of result-evaluation. First, evaluation should be conducted by the recommended independent bodies, not by the very players who have all the reasons in the world to depict aid outcome in the most positive of manners. Secondly, such evaluation should be much more systematic and cyclical than it presently is. Although such regular evaluation, executed by international agencies, presently exists in the context of major assistantial work, its form is actually corrupted by the context, realities, and circumstances in which it takes place. The yielded results do not usually reflect the true state of whatever is being evaluated. Traditionally, such periodical

evaluation takes the form of official reports, several of which are prepared during most assistance projects. The content of these reports, however, are rarely fully disclosed to the public; they are invariably produced and edited (and, indeed, not uncommonly *censored*) by parties with strong vested interests. Customarily they are prepared and written in a fashion precluding easy understanding or interpretation by the non-initiated, and replete with statements, statistics and figures which, when interpretable at all, rarely reflect true field conditions. It is highly probable that independent bodies created for such specific purposes and entrusted with public responsibility would produce more objective, more complete, and more accurate result-assessment

Lastly, such independent international bodies would police the foreign assistance arena ensuring that all players at all levels of the process adhere to the highest degrees of accountability and responsibility. Naturally, to be truly effective, such bodies must also be endowed with a sufficient level of authority to discipline and penalize even the most powerful of offenders. While on the topic of penalty, it must be pointed out that the present degree of impunity enjoyed by *less-than-satisfactory* developmental partners (both in DCs and LDCs) is unacceptable and requires immediate attention and considerable tightening.

Organize and Maintain Lobby/Watch Groups in DCs and LDCs

To bolster the effectiveness of the above-mentioned independent bodies it is essential to create and maintain watchful lobby groups, both in western industrialized countries and in the region. These groups consisting of socially-minded members of the public in donor and recipient nations would act as informal field observers. To enhance

public awareness in both the North and the South, these groups would assume the duty of observing the actions of assistance partners and report to independent international bodies possible departures from prescribed and commonly agreed-upon guidelines. The reported infractions could then be further investigated and penalized, if such course of action is justified, by independent international bodies. As such, these groups (as well as the independent bodies themselves) would prevent the appearance of untouchable issues such as those mentioned under conclusions.

Considering the socio-political climate prevailing in South America, a climate often placing informal observers/reporters at physical, economic or psychological risk the researcher perceives the role of watch-dog to be particularly well suited for DCs' socially-minded citizens to assume. Despite the existence of power lobbies in the First World, social action is considerably safer to undertake there than in the region focussed upon in this study. Naturally, to be a truly complete and two-sided effort such a watch must also be actively corroborated by Latin American observers, the risks notwithstanding.

Practice Aid for Social Change

To the above must also be added the need to emphasize the social aspect of any foreign aid project. This evolution, too, can be facilitated by ensuring adherence to the basic spirit and existing official provisions of international assistance since social concern is almost invariably imbedded in the tenets of such efforts. The independent bodies and lobby groups mentioned above would be instrumental in ascertaining the adherence of international donors and local governments to social and humanitarian guidelines and principles. If and when foreign assistance reaches a point where it is accompanied by

concerns for the many social aspects of projects, which is regrettably not often the case at the present, it will automatically foster social change for its designated beneficiaries. Once social changes occur it is then possible to speak of true development.

Enhance First World Awareness

It is also imperative, if practical international assistance is to ever approximate more closely its theoretical claims, for populations in the First World to become more aware of, and to better understand, what really takes place in the antechambers of donor and recipient countries' governments, agencies, organizations, and power groups. Here, the media and the educational systems of industrialized nations must have the courage to seek and speak the truth instead of perpetuating the Christian, humanitarian, charitable and deliberately distorted image of foreign aid. It is the researcher's conviction that once they become aware of, and attuned to, the true face of the donor/recipient game, DCs' citizens will become powerful and vocal allies for Latin American masses. This recommendation would help solve problems identified in the conclusions under the labels "foreign aid: ideal and reality", as well as under "unpropitious climate", for it would force the practice to more closely fit the theory, and it would effectively support a change in the climate in which assistance unfolds.

Use DC Media and Education

Under pressure exercised by lobby groups and independent bodies, Latin American development awareness would increase in industrialized countries. It is this researcher's conviction that most irregularities, injustices, and abuses presently plaguing the international assistance process could be prevented or at the very least minimized if the

public in donor nations was made aware of the true realities of such process. Although, admittedly, some DCs' citizens could not care less about the fate of fellow humans a world away, most certainly entertain genuine concerns about such issues provided they are appropriately informed of their existence. This specific recommendation would help bring the practice of international aid closer to its theory and facilitate the progressive disappearance of unpropitious climates.

In the context of disseminating aid-related information it is of utmost importance to demand that media and education fulfil their original and theoretical mission: that of objectively informing the public at large. It is imperative to prevent, to the degree to which it is possible, any corruption of information by interest groups, especially those groups in the political and economic spheres. Furthermore, via media and education, results of foreign assistance should be made available to the public in terms lay people can readily grasp, interpret, and comprehend. It is the opinion of this author that public awareness can go a very long way in improving the international assistance process.

Pay Attention to Cultural Awareness, Local Realities, and Related Issues

To more effectively function international aid must be culturally sensitive and relevant to local realities. Unfortunately, as it typically functions, assistance is based on the perception of realities by local elites and foreign observers, not by those who live them on a day-to-day basis, and it often consists of pre-packaged expert answers for *similar* problems encountered elsewhere in the world. Such pre-packaged answers mean that assistance is rarely, if ever, culturally relevant.

The cultural irrelevancy is inherent to most foreign assistance projects, for such

endeavours are generally based on prescriptions made by technical experts from the North, most of whom lack intimate knowledge and understanding of the region, its peoples and their beliefs, its cultures, and its history. To this questionable start must also be added the doubtful validity of cultural information imparted to foreign personnel by local elites who are, themselves, outward-oriented and the very preservers of social, historical, and cultural status quo.

Cultural relevancy could be enhanced by subjecting foreign personnel to a long, stringent, and thorough pre-consultancy political, social, cultural, and linguistic training program (a point covered, to some length, elsewhere in this study), and ensuring the participation of true representatives of all segments of the populations affected in any decision-making process; the latter being even more indispensable when dealing with autochthonous groups. This recommendation, as well as the next one, would go a long way to modify current western paradigms -- the validity of which was questioned in the conclusions -- to better fit the needs of the region.

Provide Socially-minded Actors, and Culturally-Relevant Training

Besides the obvious importance of professional and technical experience and qualifications, all international assistance players in the region as well as in donor countries should be socially-minded. This means that aside from understanding the specific technical and economic facets of projects all participants should also be thoroughly attuned to their social and political consequences. Unless the international assistance apparatus admits to catering only to the elites among their local partners it cannot begin to be honest in assessing the negative impact of its policies on the majority of the population.

Directly related to this issue is the need to provide considerably better training to foreign personnel involved in assistance projects in the region. The researcher considers it inconceivable to utilize personnel who, aside from being perfectly qualified and professionally and technically capable in its original environment, is not functional in Spanish, does not have an awareness of major Iberian and Latin American historical and cultural realities, lacks the most rudimentary understanding of Latin American socio-political dynamics, fails to comprehend the power structure and the associated occupational context prevailing in the region, has a narrow and eurocentric view of the many serious issues related to international economic development, and exhibits many more additional shortcomings in areas so numerous that it is even impossible to start listing them here.

In terms of effecting improvements in orientation and preparation of foreign assistance personnel, the researcher recommends the establishment of highly specific training programs for consultants. These programs should adequately train prospective field personnel in the language, history, politics, social realities and culture of the region where it will be posted. Understandably, such programs cannot be short-termed and will, in all likelihood, consist of at least twelve months of intensive and focussed training. Such consultant education will go a long way in establishing more harmonious and effective partnership between foreign personnel and local counterparts. Admittedly, such a program is costly, long-termed, demanding, and moderately complex to create, establish, implement, and maintain. This sort of training also requires, on the part of donors, considerable planning for within its framework quick reactive response to transient

demand is virtually impossible. Consultant education is not, therefore, a simple process to get into, and quite rightfully it should not be. Considering the fact that, ultimately, all developmental efforts deal with people's lives, international assistance can no longer be permitted to operate in its characteristic impromptu and nonchalant manner. Aid is serious business, and if donors cannot or do not want to appropriately prepare their players for such game they should not play it at all.

Establish a New International Economic Order

The existing international economic order with its biases clearly favouring the First World must give way to a new form of economic system, an ideal or more balanced system, often referred-to as N.I.E.O. (New International Economic Order). This N.I.E.O. appellation is, however, misleading because it means different things to different people or groups. If only from the preceding reading it should be quite obvious that a N.I.E.O. devised by critical developmentalists and *dependentistas* will be considerably different from one created by traditionalists and leading agencies / organizations.

In the researcher's opinion, it is of utmost importance that -- to be a significant and desirable improvement over the existing global economic system -- the N.I.E.O. exhibit two fundamental characteristics: (1) it should make provisions to ease the present burden of foreign debts, and (2) it should provide all its partners with identical privileges. That is, ideally, all debts and related interests should be written-off, and indebted nations permitted to attempt a new start. Although such a new start would certainly not be with a clean slate (since Latin America would still carry the profound scars of debt) it would nevertheless free resources direly needed to meet very pressing social, educational,

political, and medical needs. As an alternative to writing the debt off in its entirety, lending bodies could demand repayment of principals but waive all interests (the latter now accounting for the bulk of debt-related costs).

In addition, to foster fair competition among all partners on the global scene questionable practices should be banned from the economic arena. That means that the imposition of quotas, tariffs, and barriers should be prevented, and that aggressive protectionist attitudes unjustly favouring industrialized nations should not be tolerated. As the economic order presently stands the First World holds all the aces: the industries, the technologies, the expertise, the capital, the experience, organizational skills, advanced transportation and communication networks and the means of controlling movement of goods and resources, as well as the setting of prices worldwide. In the current economic context little positive development can result from the region's efforts regardless of how well intentioned and well thought-of they might be. Typically, products from the region are prevented from entering some areas where they could compete successfully: they are subjected to admission quotas, assessed according to DCs' standards -- almost unachievable by local industries -- or when allowed to enter DCs' markets, do so at very low prices and under heavy taxes and tariffs. Furthermore, it is also common in the international economic arena for Latin American nations producing similar commodities or natural resources (such as bananas or coffee, for example) to be skilfully pitted against one another by First World finance whose ultimate objectives are to keep costs as low as possible and maximize profits.

Conduct Additional Research

In closing the researcher deems it indispensable to suggest that others undertake further studies in three areas demanding further investigation. These areas are: class-alliance possibilities in Latin America, the existence and importance of socio-cultural barriers, and the validity of modernization / industrialization approaches in the post-industrial / post-modern era.

In the author's opinion effective and systematic class-alliance might be one of the most promising vehicles to social change in Latin America. From his experience there is a distinct probability that, with time, certain prominent members of the traditional ruling elites will grow disenchanted with the status-quo and its past-oriented focus; then such individuals will have the potential to become *subversive elites*: elites modifying their behaviour and enacting socio-economic change *inspite* of the fact that their new actions defy behaviours and reactions commonly or typically associated with their class or power group. Due to the possible changes such *subversive elites* could bring to Latin America their emergence and strengthening are, in the opinion of the researcher, phenomena well worth investigating.

It is the researcher's perspective that socio-cultural orientations, such as those pointed out by Parsons and Lipset, and their related developmental barriers fully deserve a new visit. Although the overt discussion of so-called cultural traits is perhaps no longer fashionable in certain circles, it is as imprudent to dismiss their existence and probable importance on the ground of trendiness and possible lack of political correctness, as it is to grant them full face-value without questioning the basic premises of the beliefs they have

generated. On the basis of experience, which most definitely substantiates the existence of such traits, the researcher recommends further studies be conducted to cast a new light on the significance of the influence of such traits on the possibilities of *modern* economic development. Such studies should, however, be undertaken from a perspective different from that of earlier works, for they should be aimed solely at assessing the developmental impact of traits characterizing societies South of the Rio Grande, not at establishing the comparative superiority of societies North of it.

Although, as mentioned early on in this study, assisted development has been presented by its proponents under many different colours, it has always been, and still is, first and foremost a child of traditional modernization and industrialization. These paradigms, arguably of some merits in their original cultural, historical and geographical contexts, beg for additional critical investigation. Is it rational, or even ethical, to promote and apply models designed for industrializing Europe and North America, when all economic and social signs tell that the world has long emerged from such a historical epoch? Are the realities of global post-industrialization congruent or even compatible with the developmental panacea prescribed to the region by international agencies? Instead of being ignored or greatly reduced in importance, as they often are by traditional developmentalists, these questions require to be answered in a systematic manner so as to prevent the continuing and unabated use and implementation of old strategies to solve new problems.

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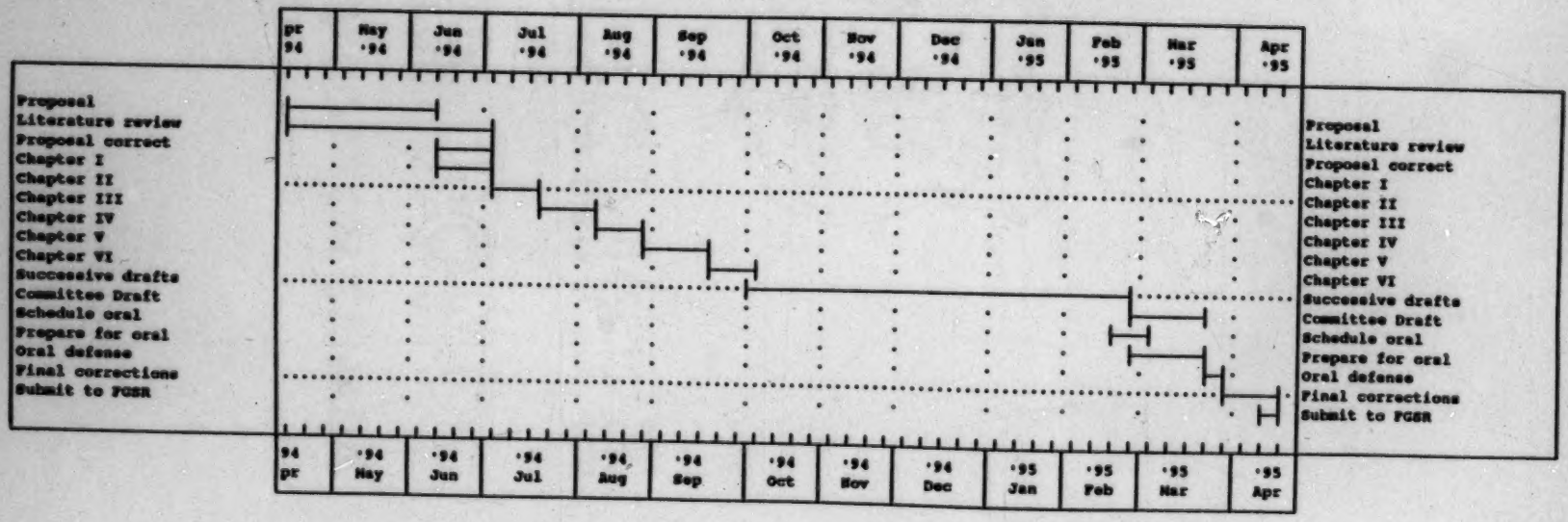
APPENDIX A

Gantt Chart of Research Steps

February 16, 1995

Jacques Barabielle -- Master Thesis
Department of Educational Policy Studies
Faculty of Education
1994



APPENDIX B

Original Spanish Quotes

ORIGINAL SPANISH QUOTE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
En su aspecto latinoamericano concreto la educación obligatoria, gratuita y laica, nunca se realizó fuera de la escuela de Sarmiento, y aún así dentro de muchas restricciones que la ley de educación común entonces sancionada no pudo superar. (1983, p. 129)[1]	In its concrete Latin American aspect, compulsory, free, laic education was never successful outside of Sarmiento's school, and, even then, only within many restrictions that the law of common education then in place was unable to overcome. (1983, p. 129)[1]
"durante este período no se producen transformaciones significativas en el sistema de educación puesto que la estructura económico social mantiene en lo fundamental las características de la etapa colonial" (1980, p. 71)[2]	"during this period no significant transformation occurred in the educational system, because the socio-economic structure kept essentially the characteristics it had during the colonial era" (1980, p. 71)[2]
los alumnos ... prefieren las profesiones tradicionales debido al prestigio de que gozan en nuestro medio. En cambio, la Ingeniería Mecánica, la Eléctrica, La Ingeniería Química, la Agronomía, la Veterinaria, más necesarias para el desarrollo económico, tienen poca clientela en las universidades y en muchas del continente ni siquira son estudiadas. (1980, p. 23)[3]	students ... prefer traditional professions because of the prestige they enjoy in our environment. On the other hand, Mechanical, Electrical, and Chemical Engineering, Agronomy, Veterinary Science -- more necessary for economic development -- attract few clients; in fact, in many universities of the continent, they are not even studied. (1980, p. 23)[3]
"El sentido peyorativo que tiene "lo técnico" se explica por una subestimación bastante difundida acerca del papel de la técnica en la vida del hombre" (Reisig, 1974, p. 23)[4]	"The pejorative meaning of 'technical' can be explained by the rather common underestimation of the role of technical processes in human life" (Reisig, 1974, p. 23)[4]
"... ha estado dirigido de manera muy desordenada y se ha orientado generalmente a satisfacer las exigencias de una demanda espontánea que por sus características se aparta substancialmente de las necesidades de la nación ..." (Bilbao, 1980, p. 181)[5]	" ... was directed in a very disorganized manner, and was generally aimed at satisfying the requirements of a spontaneous demand which, due to its characteristics, diverges substantially from the needs of the nation ..." (Bilbao, 1980, p. 181)[5]

Los Españoles sujetaron a los nativos a la más cruel opresión, llegando a considerar que eran bestias y no personas. Hubo graves faltas y abusos en la administración colonial. El fanatismo religioso agravó la situación del indio. ... La ocupación del teritorio americano conquistado por los Españoles, significó el término de la organización aborigen. América quedó sometida a la Corona Española que hizo tabla rasa de lo que había sido la autóctona civilización americana. (Aguilar Paredes, 1980, p. 199)[6]	The Spaniards subjected the natives to the most cruel oppression, going as far as considering them as animals instead of persons. There were serious flaws and abuses in the colonial administration. Religious fanaticism aggravated the situation of the indian ... The occupation of the American territory conquered by the Spaniards meant the end of aboriginal organization. America remained subjected to the Spanish Crown which eradicated what was once the american autochthonous civilization. (Aguilar Paredes, 1980, p. 199)[6]
Las ideas y acciones de los grupos gobernantes se han inspirado en doctrinas emanadas en las playas del Atlántico, y así, inauténticas y mal digeridas. ... Desconectados fisicamente, asimilando a su modo las lecciones de Occidente, nuestros países terminaron por aferrarse a la coalición de potencias capitalistas comandada por los Estadios Unidos, sellándose una dependencia material y espiritual ... (1986, p. 61)[7]	The ideas and actions of governing groups inspired themselves from doctrines originating from the beaches of the Atlantic, and as such, lacking in authenticity and badly digested. ... Physically disconnected, assimilating in their own way the lessons from Occident, our countries ended up joining the coalition of capitalist powers under the command of the United States, sealing their material and spiritual dependence ... (1986, p. 61)[7]
... la "metamorfosis" de la modernidad en America Latina, a su vez uno de los productos de la dominación colonial, sirvío para la prolongación desmedida de un poder cuyos beneficiarios fueron sectores sociales en quienes se encarnaron los resultados más perversos de la dominación colonial, los menos tocados por la racionalidad moderna, y que con las presiones de la "modernización" han logrado mantener sus principales posiciones. (1990, p. 58)[8]	... the "metamorphosis" of modernity in Latin America, itself a product of colonial domination, served to unduly protract a form of power benefiting those social sectors embodying the most perverse aspects of colonial domination, those less touched by modern rationality, and who, with the pressure of "modernization" managed to maintain their positions. (1990, p. 58)[8]
El ideal que trata de sembrarse y para lo cual se emplean con irresistible despliege todos los medios susceptible de condicionar la mente, es el de que todo marcha bien y que la gente debe procurarse de adquirir una vivienda, un automóvil, un artefacto o un traje de moda. (1986, p. 105)[9]	The ideal that must be spread, and for which all possible means of mind-conditioning are used with irresistible ostentation, is that everything is fine and that people should busy themselves acquiring a house, a car, some artifact or fashionable clothing. (1986, p. 105)[9]

tendencias hacia una nueva división del trabajo y especialización productiva determinadas directamente por los consorcios multinacionales. El caracter excluyente de este tipo de estructuración económica coincidiría o, mejor, impondría el establecimiento y/o extensión de regímenes autoritarios. ... A lo que demuestra la historia reciente este tipo de regímenes es el más compatible con la estructura y funcionamiento centralizados de las corporaciones multinacionales. (1986, p. 78)[10]	tendencies towards a new division of labour and specialization of production directly defined by multinational consortia. The exclusionary character of this type of economic structure would coincide, or better said, would impose the establishment and/or extension of authoritarian regimes. ... From what we have been taught by recent history, this type of regimes is the one most compatible with the centralized structure and operation of multinational corporations. (1986, p. 78)[10]
Las inyecciones tecnológicas han sido suministradas con un desconocimiento absoluto de los metabolismos de nuestras naciones. ... A todas luces, el método empleado de superposición de técnica elaborada para otras realidades ha terminado por entumecer las fuerzas productivas locales encandenándolas a los controles del imperialismo. (1986, pp. 29-30)[11]	The technological injections have been given with an absolute lack of understanding of the metabolisms of our nations. ... From all perspectives, the method utilized -- consisting in the superposition of techniques devised for other realities, ended up numbing local productive forces by subjugating them to the control of imperialism. (1986, pp. 29-30)[11]
el sistema tecnocrático es radicalmente predicativo, porque se lo considera establecido sobre un fundamento asentado de una vez para siempre, con independencia de cualquier experiencia o acontecimiento futuro, que de ocurrir nunca podrá tener caracter social sino técnico y, por consiguiente, renovador del funcionamiento sin modificar las estructuras. (1983, p. 186)[12]	the technocratic system is essentially predictive, for it is considered to be grounded in a principle established once and for all, independently of any future experience or event which -- if it occurs -- will only have a technical character and never be allowed to have a social one; consequently, this system will ensure reproduction without modifying the structures. (1983, p. 186)[12]
En sociedades donde se llega al poder por la riqueza y no por el trabajo, los individuales destinados a competir en ese campo deben recibir una formación adecuada. De tal manera, la educación latinoamericana siempre estuvo dividida, y todavía está, en educación de primera, de segunda, y en algunos casos de tercera. (1986, p. 56)[13]	In societies where access to power is dependent on wealth and not on work, individuals destined to compete in such context must receive an apprapriate type of formation. Therefore, Latin American education was always divided, and still is, in first, second, and in some cases third rate. (1986, pp. 29-30)[13]
En Latinoamérica la clase dominante no se limita simplemente a producir un daño directo a las masas que expolia y que se traduce por la miseria, sino que daña a todo el continente pues hipoteca el porvenir de las generaciones venideras cuya aliencación está programada antes de nacer con la educación que se les prepara. (1983, p. 61)[14]	In Latin America, the dominant class does not limit itself to inflicting direct damage to the masses it strips of everything -- a fact manifested in their misery, but it also hurts the entire continent since it mortgages the future of coming generations, the alienation of which is already programmed before they are born, via the education it prepares for them. (1983, p. 61)[14]

Nuestra organización escolar tuvo inicios esclavistas en las encomiendas y bajo el patronio de los misioneros, que intentaron la catequización de los indios para incorporarlos, ya mansos, a la explotación de un continente, que era fuente de producción para los países conquistadores y que no podía explotarse sin el concurso de mano esclavas. ... Mientras la industrialización en Europa y Estados Unidos aniquiló el analfabetismo y fomentó la cultura popular, ... en nuestra América prosperaba la incultura. La escuela tuvo desde sus inicios un fuerte acento de organización encargada a atender a las castas priviligiadas que podían pagar la educación de los hijos. Como educación de una casta que tenía del trabajo manual un concepto despectivo, formó una clase intelectual parasitaria que vivía a expensas de los que en las haciendas o en las minas trabajaban para ellos. (1980, p. 9)[15]	Our educational organization had enslaving beginnings, in the encomiendas and under the authority of the missionaries who attempted to christianize the indians to incorporate them -- already tamed -- in the exploitation of a continent which was the source of production for the conquering nations, and which could not be exploited without slave labour. ... While industrialization in Europe and the United States annihilated illiteracy and fostered popular culture, ... the lack of culture prospered in our America. School was, from its very beginnings, an organization catering to privileged classes who could pay to educate their children. Being a form of education for a class who found manual work to be despicable, it formed a parasitic intellectual class who lived at the expense of those toiling for them in haciendas or mines. (1980, p. 9)[15]
en nuestra situación latinoamericana comenzamos por desarrollarnos en un medio social preparado, dominado por las relaciones de poder, y apenas el niño alcanza a actuar porsí mismo, con independencia del adulto, la dialéctica del poder y de la ignorancia crea, por medio de la educación que proporciona, una armonía entre el educando y ella, ... [la educación] es un mdeio y un instrumento para procurar solidez al poder. (1983, p. 34-35)[16]	in our Latin American situation, we start by developing in a prepared social context, dominated by power relations, and as soon as the child is able to act on his own, independent from adults, the dialectic of power and ignorance creates -- through the education it provides -- harmony between the student and itself, ... [education] is a means and instrument to consolidate [The] power. (1983, p. 34-35)[16]
Lo que caracteriza a una educación aristocratizante o de elites es el proposito de formar con los pequeños núcleos privilegiados de la fortuna o de la raza los equipos para controlar el poder que ejercen sobre una masa ignorante. (1980, p. 58)[17]	What characterizes an aristocratic or elitist education, is the intention to create -- with the small financially- or racially- privileged nuclei -- instruments to control the power exercised over an ignorant mass. (1980, p. 58)[17]
Un hombre formado, un hombre diplomado o graduado, un hombre habilitado, es todas esta cosas pero lo es, por asídecir, de manera engañosa si no puede ejercer o gratificarse con la actividad para la cual debío haber sido formado, diplomado, o habilitado. (1978, p. 83)[18]	A qualified person, an individual with a diploma, a person trained, is all these things, but only -- so-to-speak -- in a misleading fashion if he/she cannot exercise, or derive gratification from the activity for which he/she should have been qualified, certified, or trained. (1978, p. 83)[18]
"la primera realidad que afronta el educador es el hombre concreto al que determinan circunstancias económicas, sociales, políticas, y culturales" (1983, p. 20)[19]	"the first reality facing the educator is the whole concrete person, defined by economic, social, political, and cultural circumstances". (1983, p. 20)[19]

Nuestro mito educativo es una acción que mezcla en la misma representación imaginaria los beneficios de la alfabetización, de la tecnología, de los dioses, demiurgos y heroes del mundo capitalista, para remontarse a una especie de tiempo estático, originado con la revolución industrial (1983, p. 15)[20]	Our educational myth is an action which mixes, in the same imaginary representation, the benefits of literacy, technology, gods, demiurges and heroes of the capitalist world, to link itself to some sort of static period originated with the industrial revolution (1983, p. 15)[20]
no son ni pensados ni gestados como momentos de una estrategia total que ... tenga a sus espaldas una teoría de la transición hacia una nueva sociedad. Tales proyectos, en realidad, se limitan a *proponer una adequación* de las estructuras escolares, ya caducas y en crisis, a las *exigencias objetivas* del sistema económico-social *tal cual es*. (1978, pp. 105-106)[21]	they are not thought of or devised as parts of a total strategy ... resting on a theory of transformation toward a new society. In reality, [they] limit themselves to proposing an adaptation of educational structures, already weak and in crisis, to the objective demands of an unmodified socio-economic system. (1978, pp. 105-106)[21]
"beneficia a las industrias que la mantiene, pero no es garantía suficiente de que se logre con ello [tipo de educación] un servicio social" (1974, p. 67)[22]	"benefits the industries that support it, but this is not a sufficient guarantee that a social service is in fact derived from this type of education" (1974, p. 67)[22]
la idea de que la escuela tradicional y la tecnológica se dirigen a poblaciones diferentes. La primera tuvo y tiene la mejor clientela en la clase media y la clase alta, mientras que para la segunda su cliental principal son los obreros e hijos de obreros (Reisig, 1974, p. 67)[23]	the idea that traditional and technological education are designed for different populations. The first one was designed, and still is, for the best clientele of the middle- and upper- class, while the clientele of the second consists of workers and the children of workers (Reisig, 1974, p. 67)[23]
"escuelas profesionales especializadas, en las cuales el destino del alumno y su futura actividad están predeterminadas" (1978, p. 89)[24]	"specialized professional schools in which the fate of the student and his future activity are predetermined" (1978, p. 89)[24]
"el sistema escolar en la sociedad capitalista ha tendido siempre a mantener a cada uno en la ubicación social de origen" (1978, p. 103)[25]	"the school system in the capitalist society always had the tendency to keep people in their original social places" (1978, p. 103)[25]
"La educación técnica se enfrenta con la realidad de ser una educación masiva, cuyos estudiantes quieren conseguir a la vez un título que los habilite para trabajar y los elementos que les permitan seguir estudiando en la universidad."(1990, p. 89)[26]	"Technical education is faced with the reality of being an education of masses, the students of which want to obtain -- simultaneously -- credentials giving them access to the work market, and a background allowing them to pursue further studies at the university." (1990, p. 89)[26]
"la falta de rigor y sistematización impiden a las nuevas opciones superar su ubicación subordinada" (Biasutto, 1978, p. 17)[27]	"the lack of rigour and systematization prevent the new options from transcending their subordinated position" (Biasutto, 1978, p. 17)[27]
"en América Latina la educación de adultos se circunscribío a enseñar a leer y escribir y las cuatro operaciones aritméticas fundamentales; su programa no fue más allá de un tercer o cuarto grado de primaria" (1974, p. 79)[29].	"in Latin America, adult education limited itself to teaching to the four fundamental arithmetic operations, and read and write; its program never exceeded the level of a third or fourth grade of elementary" (1974, p. 79)[29]

"el presupuesto para la educación de adultos era mínimo" (1980, p. 95)[30]	"the budget for adult education was minimum" (1980, p. 95)[30]
"la educación extra-escolar tenía una importancia absolutamente secundaria" (1980, p. 95)[31]	"extra-scholar education clearly had a secondary importance" (1980, p. 95)[31]
"es a la vez una válvula de seguridad y una eficaz forma de selección que consolida, volviéndo más flexible, el sistema de division en clases de la sociedad" (1978, p. 199)[32]	"is at the same time a security valve and an effective form of selection which consolidates -- making it more flexible -- the system of class division in society" (1978, p. 199)[32]

APPENDIX C

Initial List of Dimensions

Accessibility to education	Growth of educational systems	Returns of education
Adult Ed. programs stability	Historical evolution of the state	Roles of education
Alienation of learners	Human and indigenous rights	Social changes
Authoritarianism	Human capital	Social demand for education
Availability of suitable programs	Imperialism	Social images in Latin America
Basic adult education	Income distribution	Social justice
Beneficiaries	Individual cost of education	Social mobility
Benefits	Industrialization	Social stratification
Bourgeoisie/Elites	Inflation	Socialization
Budgets	Informal education	Status of adult education
Bureaucracy	Internal colonialism	Status of teachers of adults
Capitalism	Internal/international structures	Status quo
Centralization	International debt	Structural changes in society
Characteristics of clientele	Involvement in market economy	Structural violence
Characteristics of workers	Lack of adult client political power	Unemployment/sub-employment
Classes	Lack of educational holism	Sustainability
Colonial heritage	Mass education	Teacher-training
Competition	Meritocracy	Teaching methods
Conscientización	Migration	Technocracy
Consumer aspirations	Modernization	Technology
Credentialism	Multinationals/transnationals	Technology transfer
Critical education	Multiple-tiered education	Trickle-down
Decision making	Nature of the official curriculum	Types of projects/efforts
Democracy	Non-formal education	Urbanization
Dependency	Objectives of education	Value of technical/vocational educ.
Dialectic of education	Occupational stratification	Voc/tech. ed. and the secondary
Different from other western areas	Participation in education	Vocational/technical education
Domination	Participation in society	Western social paradigms
Donors	Paternalism of the state	Westernization/globalization
Drop-out rates	Western pedagogical paradigms	Workforce mobility
Economic development	Political action/mobilization	Workers' qualifications
Economic diversification	Political and social awareness	
Economic justice	Popular education	
Education for social control	Population/Demographics	
Educational dependency	Poverty	
Educational exclusion	Pre-vocationalization	
Emancipation	Precolumbian education	
Employability	Presence of practical opportunities	
Employment	Production	
Empowerment	Progress	
Equality/equity	Quality of education	
State expectations of education	Quality of life	
Feudalism	Recognition of cultural diversity	
Follow-up/assessment/evaluation	Redistribution of resources	
Formal education	Relevancy	
Free trade	Response capacity of the state	
Functions of education	Results of education	

APPENDIX D

Analytical Matrix

#	THEME	TRADITIONAL	CRITICAL
1	Economic development means to achieve it.	• View industrialization as a mark of development. • Lack is deficiency based. • Deficiencies can be overcome with DCs' help. • Follow DCs' earlier path. • Benefit from DCs' help. • Modernize. • Develop human capital. • Change attitudes and values.	• View industrialization as a mark of development. • DCs' assistance is interfering with local development, and an obstacle to it. • Cannot use DCs' path. • Require indigenous solutions. • Free, empower, liberate. • Foster participation, decision. • Educate accordingly. • NIEO.
2	Historical factors considered.	• Religions / philosophies. • Cultural traits. • Civilized by Spaniards. • Spanish capitalism. • Spanish land tenure. • British capitalism. • Early lack of diversification.	• Pre-colombian theocracies. • Colonialism. • Spanish land tenure. • Catholicism and obedience. • Eradication of original cultures. • Emergence of criollos. • Internal colonialism. • Neo-colonialism. • British / US capitalism. • Early dependency. • Current IEO.
3	Post-independent political evolution.	• No parliamentary tradition. • No democratic tradition. • Instability. • Authoritarian. • Needs DCs guidance to bring democracy.	• *Criollo* revolutions, not mass. • Legitimation of division. • Continuation of colonialism. • DCs and "friendly" regimes. • Militarization and security. • Climate for high profits. • Control of labour movements.
4	Generic foreign assistance.	• Provides resources. • Provides guidance. • Provides funding. • Shares DCs' developmental experience.	• Acts as DCs' tool of penetration and take-over. • Is often unsuitable locally. • Is often unsustainable locally. • Establishes and perpetuates a reversed flow of currencies, by coming with strings attached. • Establishes and maintains neo-colonialism. • Facilitates cultural alteration. • Facilitates social and economic manipulation.

5	Elites, modernization, and foreign assistance.	• Potential investors. • Outward-looking, therefore valuable advocates of modernization, values and attitudes changes. • Exposed to international and national scenes, therefore best suited to interpret local needs and articulate them to the world at large.	• Utilize the modernization paradigm and whatever means is at their disposal, including foreign assistance, to bolster their dominant position and expand their domination to all national areas. • Utilize their privileged positions to present their own opinions and perceptions as clear articulations of local realities and needs.
6	Commerce. Industry. Agriculture.	• Old models. • Obsolete /obsolescent. • Narrow focus. • Inefficient. • Little delegation and trust. • Poor entrepreneurship. • Need DCs' assistance.	• Taken-over by DCs. • DCs make decisions. • DCs limit local growth. • Unsuitable models introduced. • Entrepreneurship thwarted. • LDCs given subaltern role.
7	Research and development.	• Sciences and technology poorly internalized by society. • Insufficient efforts. • Insufficient budgets. • Better opportunities in DCs where participation is extended to Latin American researchers. • Need DC technology to catch up.	• Local funds insufficient, partly due to capital flight and outward orientation of research community and financial elites -- in the context of purely local efforts. • Purposely kept insignificant, locally, in the context of foreign undertakings -- Latin America is deliberately kept behind state of the art research. • Limited by brain drain. Cost to countries of origin benefits host nation. • Limited by outward orientation.
8	Technology transfer.	• Provide what region cannot develop -- both financially and technologically. • Shortcut to modern world. • Benefit from DCs' work. • Avoid need for costly investment in the creation of technology. • Induces training in modern areas. • Need DC technology to catch up.	• Unsuitable technology transfer. • Human impact. • Environmental impact. • DCs-controlled. • Transfer old technologies only. • Presented as leading edge. • Sold at leading-edge prices. • Strings attached. • Facilitates full DC take-over.

9	Local education.	• Colonial in essence. • Obsolete / academic/ classical. • Non-practical. • Drop-out, attendance problems. • Insufficient budgets. • Poor staffing. • Poor facilities. • Irrelevant programs. • Lack of systematic approach. • Needs DCs' input to improve.	• Purposely colonial and divisive. • Historically a tool of control. • Means of social allocation. • Legitimizes failures of some. • Socialize into dominant culture. • Justifies socio-historical realities. • Dominant classes' response to mass demands for education. • Deliberately past-oriented and disconnected from current social realities of a pressing nature. • Need to develop a truly indigenous mass-education system aimed at empowerment instead of subjugation.
10	Educational assistance.	• Assists in creating human capital. • Procures modern education. • Addresses market needs. • Prepares to compete globally. • Caters to middle occupations. • Remedies ills of local systems. • Introduces and supports practical forms of education. • Introduces systematization and rationalization in education.	• Based on unsuitable foreign paradigms. • Defined by local elites. • Defined by foreign experts. • Designed to modify attitudes, values, and behaviour along "modernization" lines. • Acts as a tool of socialization into a global capitalist system. • Thwarts mass educational aspirations, and further prepares for, and legitimizes class and labour division.
11	Practical forms of education in the region -- in the foreign aid context.	• Meet needs of economy. • Offer short career tracks. • Address middle level jobs. • Can be remedial. • Assist those left out. • Prepare for better lifestyle by giving access to world of work.	• Despite of governmental rhetoric, is given little priority. • Poorly matching *credencialista* climates. • Present low credential value. • Aimed at providing capitalism with workers, not workers with education facilitating social mobility and empowerment. • Come with strings attached for recipient nations. • Often proves to be financially unsustainable. • Not matching occupational opportunities and demands. • Placebo answer of elites to mass demands for educations.